Moolenaar

Moore (AL)

Moore (UT)

Murphy (NC)

Newhouse

Obernolte

Norman

Nunes

Owens

Palazzo

Palmer

Pence

Perry

Posev

Reed

Rose

Rov

Pfluger

Reschenthaler

Rodgers (WA)

Rogers (AL)

Rogers (KY)

Rosendale

Rutherford

Schweikert

Smith (MO)

Smith (NE)

Smith (NJ)

Smucker

Spartz

Steel

Steil

Steube

Taylor

Tenney

Tiffany

Turner

Upton

Valadao

Wagner

Walberg

Walorski

Weber (TX)

Westerman

Wilson (SC)

Webster (FL)

Wittman

Womack

Young

Zeldin

Williams (TX)

Wenstrup

Waltz

Van Drew

Van Duvne

Timmons

Thompson (PA)

Stewart

Stauber

Stefanik

Scott, Austin

Rouzer

Salazar

Scalise

Sessions

Simpson

Rice (SC)

Mooney

Mullin

Nehls

Sewell (DelBene) Slotkin (Axne) Waters (Barragán)

Wilson (FL) (Hayes) Wilson (SC) (Timmons) Young (Joyce (OH))

Ocasio-Cortez

Omar

Pallone

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

question is on the resolution.

Mr. RESCHENTHALER. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to section 3(s) of House Resolution 8, the yeas and nays are ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 216, nays 208, not voting 5, as follows:

[Roll No. 152]

#### YEAS-216

Adams Gonzalez, Aguilar Vicente Gottheimer Auchincloss Green, Al (TX) Axne Grijalva Barragán Harder (CA) Hayes Higgins (NY) Rass Beatty Bever Horsford Bishop (GA) Houlahan Blumenauer Hoyer Blunt Rochester Huffman Jackson Lee Bonamici Bourdeaux Jacobs (CA) Bowman Javanal Boyle, Brendan Jeffries Johnson (GA) Brown Johnson (TX) Brownley Jones Bush Kahele Bustos Kaptur Butterfield Keating Carbajal Kelly (IL) Cárdenas Khanna. Carson Kildee Carter (LA) Kilmer Cartwright Kim (NJ) Kirkpatrick Casten Castor (FL) Krishnamoorthi Castro (TX) Kuster Chu Lamb Cicilline Langevin Clark (MA) Larsen (WA) Clarke (NY) Larson (CT) Cleaver Lawrence Clyburn Lawson (FL) Cohen Lee (CA) Connolly Lee (NV) Leger Fernandez Levin (CA) Cooper Correa Costa Levin (MI) Courtney Lieu Lofgren Craig Crist Lowenthal Crow Luria Cuellar Lvnch Davids (KS) Malinowski Maloney, Carolyn B. Davis, Danny K. Dean DeFazio Maloney, Sean DeGette Manning DeLauro Matsui DelBene McBath Delgado McCollum McEachin Demings DeSaulnier McGovern Deutch McNerney Dingell Meeks Doggett Meng Doyle, Michael Mfume Moore (WI) Morelle Escobar Eshoo Moulton Espaillat Mrvan Evans Fletcher Murphy (FL) Nadler Foster Napolitano

Frankel, Lois

García (IL)

Garcia (TX)

Gallego

Gomez

Neal

Neguse

Newman

Norcross

O'Halleran

Panetta Pappas Pascrell Payne Perlmutter Peters Phillips Pingree Pocan Porter Pressley Price (NC) Quigley Raskin Rice (NY) Ross Roybal-Allard Ruiz Ruppersberger Rush R.van Sánchez Sarbanes Scanlon Schakowsky Schiff Schneider Schrader Schrier Scott (VA) Scott David Sewell Sherman Sherrill Sires Slotkin Smith (WA) Soto Spanberger Speier Stanton Stevens Strickland Suozzi Swalwell Takano Thompson (CA) Thompson (MS) Titus Tlaib Tonko Torres (CA) Torres (NY) Trahan Trone Underwood Vargas Veasey Vela Velázquez Wasserman Schultz Waters Watson Coleman Welch

Wexton

Williams (GA)

Wilson (FL)

Yarmuth

Wild

NAYS-208 Aderholt Gohmert Gonzales, Tony Allen Amodei Gonzalez (OH) Armstrong Good (VA) Gooden (TX) Arrington Babin Bacon Granger Graves (LA) Baird Balderson Graves (MO) Banks Green (TN) Greene (GA) Barr Bentz Griffith Bergman Grothman Bice (OK) Guest GuthrieBiggs Bilirakis Hagedorn Bishop (NC) Harris Boebert Harshbarger Bost Hartzler Brady Hern Herrell Brooks Herrera Beutler Buchanan Buck Hice (GA) Bucshon Higgins (LA) Budd Hill Burchett Hinson Burgess Hollingsworth Calvert Hudson Cammack Huizenga Carl Issa Carter (GA) Jackson Carter (TX) Jacobs (NY) Cawthorn Johnson (LA) Chabot Johnson (OH) Johnson (SD) Cheney Cline Jordan Joyce (OH) Cloud Clyde Joyce (PA) Cole Katko Comer Keller Crawford Kelly (MS) Crenshaw Kelly (PA) Kim (CA) Curtis Davidson Kinzinger Davis, Rodney Kustoff DesJarlais LaHood Diaz-Balart LaMalfa Donalds Lamborn Duncan Latta Dunn LaTurner Emmer Lesko Estes Letlow Fallon Lucas Feenstra Luetkemeyer Ferguson Mace Fischbach Malliotakis Fitzgerald Mann Fitzpatrick Massie

> Miller-Meeks NOT VOTING-5

Garamendi Golden

Fleischmann

Fortenberry

Franklin, C.

Scott

Gallagher

Garbarino

Garcia (CA)

Fulcher

Gaetz

Gibbs

Gimenez

Foxx

Long Loudermilk

Mast

McCarthy

McCaul

McClain

McHenry

McKinley

Miller (IL)

Miller (WV)

Meijer

Meuser

McClintock

## □ 1557

So the resolution was agreed to. The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

MEMBERS RECORDED PURSUANT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 8, 117TH CONGRESS

Allred (Wexton) Deutch (Rice Lowenthal Beatty (NY)) (Bever) (Lawrence) Grijalva (García McEachin Buchanan (Dunn) (IL))(Wexton) Johnson (TX) McHenry (Banks) Cárdenas (Gallego) (Jeffries) Mullin (Lucas) Carter (TX) Kirkpatrick Napolitano (Calvert) (Stanton) (Correa) Ocasio-Cortez Courtney (Hayes) Lawson (FL) Crenshaw (Evans) (Bush) Payne (Pallone) Lieu (Beyer) (Pfluger)

Ruppersberger (Raskin) Rush (Underwood) Sewell (DelBene) Slotkin (Axne) Waters (Barragán) Wilson (FL) (Hayes)

Wilson (SC) (Timmons) Young (Joyce (OH))

NATIONAL COMMISSION TO INVES-TIGATE THE JANUARY 6 ATTACK THE UNITED STATES CAP-ITOL COMPLEX ACT

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to House Resolution 409, I call up the bill (H.R. 3233) to establish the National Commission to Investigate the January 6 Attack on the United States Capitol Complex, and for other purposes, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 409, the bill is considered read.

The text of the bill is as follows:

## H.R. 3233

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

#### SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "National Commission to Investigate the January 6 Attack on the United States Capitol Complex Act"

#### SEC. 2. ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMISSION.

There is established in the legislative branch the National Commission to Investigate the January 6 Attack on the United States Capitol Complex (hereafter referred to as the "Commission").

#### SEC. 3. PURPOSES.

Consistent with the functions described in section 4, the purposes of the Commission are the following:

(1) To investigate and report upon the facts and causes relating to the January 6, 2021, domestic terrorist attack upon the United States Capitol Complex (hereafter referred to as the "domestic terrorist attack on the Capitol") and relating to the interference with the peaceful transfer of power, including facts and causes relating to the preparedness and response of the United States Capitol Police and other Federal, State, and local law enforcement in the National Capitol Region and other instrumentality of government, as well as the influencing factors that fomented such attack on American representative democracy while engaged in a constitutional process.

(2) To examine and evaluate evidence developed by relevant Federal, State, and local governmental agencies, in a manner that is respectful of ongoing law enforcement activities and investigations regarding the domestic terrorist attack upon the Capitol, regarding the facts and circumstances surrounding such terrorist attack and targeted violence and domestic terrorism relevant to such terrorist attack.

(3) To build upon the investigations of other entities and avoid unnecessary duplication by reviewing the findings, conclusions, and recommendations of other executive branch, congressional, or independent bipartisan or non-partisan commission investigations into the domestic terrorist attack on the Capitol and targeted violence and domestic terrorism relevant to such terrorist attack, including investigations into influencing factors related to such terrorist attack.

(4) To investigate and report to the President and Congress on its findings, conclusions, and recommendations for corrective measures that may include changes in law, policy, procedures, rules, or regulations that could be taken to prevent future acts of targeted violence and domestic terrorism, including to prevent domestic terrorist attacks against American democratic institutions, improve the security posture of the United States Capitol Complex while preserving accessibility of the Capitol Complex for all Americans, and strengthen the security and resilience of the Nation and American democratic institutions against domestic terrorism.

#### SEC. 4. FUNCTIONS OF COMMISSION.

The functions of the Commission are to-

(1) conduct an investigation of the relevant facts and circumstances relating to the domestic terrorist attack on the Capitol, including relevant facts and circumstances relating to—

(A) activities of intelligence agencies, law enforcement agencies, and the Armed Forces, including with respect to intelligence collection, analysis, and dissemination and information sharing among relevant instrumentality of government:

(B) influencing factors that contributed to the domestic terrorist attack on the Capitol and how technology, including online platforms, financing, and malign foreign influence operations and campaigns may have factored into the motivation, organization, and execution of the domestic terrorist attack on the Capitol and targeted violence and domestic terrorism relevant to such attack; and

(C) other entities of the public and private sector as determined relevant by the Commission for such investigation;

(2) identify, review, and evaluate the causes of and the lessons learned from the domestic terrorist attack on the Capitol and targeted violence and domestic terrorism relevant to such attack regarding—

(A) the command, control, and communications of the United States Capitol Police, the National Guard, the Metropolitan Police Department of the District of Columbia, and other Federal, State, and local law enforcement in the National Capitol Region on or before January 6, 2021;

(B) the structure, coordination, operational plans, policies, and procedures of the Federal Government, including as such relate to State and local governments and nongovernmental entities, and particularly with respect to detecting, preventing, preparing for, and responding to targeted violence and domestic terrorism;

(C) the structure, authorities, training, manpower utilization, operational planning, and use of force policies of the United States Capitol Police:

(D) the policies, protocols, processes, procedures, and systems for sharing of intelligence and other information by Federal. State, and local agencies with the United States Capitol Police, the Sergeants at Arms of the House of Representatives and the Senate, the Government of the District of Columbia, including the Metropolitan Police Department of the District of Columbia, the National Guard, and other Federal, State, and local law enforcement in the National Capitol Region on or before January 6, 2021, and the related the policies, protocols, processes, procedures, and systems for monitoring, assessing, disseminating, and acting on intelligence and other information, including elevating the security posture of the United States Capitol Complex, derived from instrumentality of government, open sources, and online platforms; and

(E) the policies, protocols, processes, procedures, and systems for interoperability between the United States Capitol Police and the National Guard, the Metropolitan Police

Department of the District of Columbia, and other Federal, State, and local law enforcement in the National Capitol Region on or before January 6, 2021; and

(3) submit to the President and Congress reports required pursuant to section 10 containing such findings, conclusions, and recommendations, which may include changes in law, policy, procedures, rules, or regulations, to improve the detection, prevention, preparedness for, and response to targeted violence and domestic terrorism and improve the security posture of the United States Capitol Complex and ensure the security of Members of Congress and staff.

#### SEC. 5. COMPOSITION OF COMMISSION.

(a) MEMBERS.—The Commission shall be composed of ten members, of whom—

(1) one member shall be appointed jointly by the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the majority leader of the Senate to serve as Chairperson of the Commission;

(2) one member shall be appointed jointly by the minority leader of the House of Representatives and the minority leader of the Senate to serve as Vice Chairperson of the Commission:

(3) two members shall be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives:

(4) two members shall be appointed by the minority leader of the House of Representatives:

(5) two members shall be appointed by the majority leader of the Senate; and

(6) two members shall be appointed by the minority leader of the Senate.

(b) QUALIFICATIONS; INITIAL MEETING.-

(1) NONGOVERNMENTAL APPOINTEES.—An individual appointed to the Commission may not be an officer or employee of an instrumentality of government.

(2) OTHER QUALIFICATIONS.—It is the sense of Congress that individuals appointed to the Commission should be prominent United States citizens, with national recognition and significant depth of experience in at least two of the following areas:

(A) Governmental service.

(B) Law enforcement.

(C) Civil rights, civil liberties, and privacy.

(D) The Armed Forces.

(E) Intelligence.

(F) Counterterrorism.

(G) Cybersecurity.

(H) Technology.

(I) Law.

(3) INITIAL MEETING.—The Commission shall meet and begin the initial operation of the Commission as soon as practicable, but not earlier than 15 days after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(c) TIMING FOR APPOINTMENT.—All members of the Commission shall be appointed not later than 10 days after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(d) QUORUM; VACANCIES.—After its initial meeting, the Commission shall meet upon the call of the Chairperson or a majority of its members. A majority of members of the Commission shall constitute a quorum. Any vacancy in the Commission shall not affect its powers, but shall be promptly filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made.

(e) COMPENSATION.—Each member of the Commission may be compensated at not to exceed the daily equivalent of the annual rate of basic pay in effect for a position at level III of the Executive Schedule under section 5314 of title 5, United States Code, for each day during which that member is engaged in the actual performance of the duties of the Commission.

(f) TRAVEL EXPENSES.—Each member of the Commission shall receive travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, in accordance with applicable provision under

subchapter I of chapter 57 of title 5, United States Code.

#### SEC. 6. POWERS OF COMMISSION.

(a) IN GENERAL.-

(1) HEARINGS AND EVIDENCE.—The Commission or, as delegated by the Chairperson and the Vice-Chairperson, any subcommittee or member thereof, may, for the purpose of carrying out this Act—

(A) hold such hearings and sit and act at such times and places, take such testimony, receive such evidence, and administer such oaths as the Commission or such designated subcommittee or designated member may determine advisable; and

(B) subject to paragraph (2)(A), require, by subpoena or otherwise, the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, records, correspondence, memoranda, papers, or documents, or any other paper or electronic material, as the Commission or such designated subcommittee or designated member may determine advisable.

(2) Subpoenas.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—The Commission may issue subpoenas requiring the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of any evidence relating to any matter which the Commission is empowered to investigate under this Act. Such subpoenas shall be issued by agreement between the Chairperson and Vice Chairperson of the Commission, or by the vote of a majority of the members of the Commission. The attendance of witnesses and the production of evidence may be required from any place within the United States at any designated place of hearing within the United States.

(B) FAILURE TO OBEY A SUBPOENA.—If a person does not obey a subpoena issued under subparagraph (A), the Commission is authorized to apply to a United States district court for an order requiring that person to appear before the Commission to give testimony, produce evidence, or both, relating to the matter under investigation. The application may be made within the judicial district where the hearing is conducted or where that person is found, resides, or transacts business. Any failure to obey the order of the court may be punished by the court as a civil contempt.

(C) SUBJECT MATTER JURISDICTION.—The United States district court in which an action is brought under subparagraph (B) shall have original jurisdiction over any civil action brought by the Commission to enforce, secure a declaratory judgment concerning the validity of, or prevent a threatened refusal or failure to comply with, any subpoena issued by the Commission.

(D) SERVICE OF SUBPOENAS.—The subpoenas of the Commission shall be served in the manner provided for subpoenas issued by a United States district court under the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure for the United States district courts.

(E) SERVICE OF PROCESS.—All process of any court to which application is made under subparagraph (A) may be served in the judicial district in which the person required to be served resides or may be found.

(b) CONTRACTING.—The Commission may, to such extent and in such amounts as are provided in appropriation Acts, enter into contracts to enable the Commission to discharge its duties under this Act.

(c) OBTAINING OFFICIAL DATA.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The Commission may secure directly from any Federal department or agency information, including any underlying information that may be in the possession of the intelligence community, that is necessary to enable it to carry out its purposes and functions under this Act. Upon request of the Chairperson, the chairperson of

any subcommittee created by a majority of the Commission, or any member designated by a majority of the Commission, the head of such department or agency shall furnish such information to the Commission.

- (2) RECEIPT, HANDLING, STORAGE, AND DISSEMINATION.—Information shall only be received, handled, stored, and disseminated by members of the Commission and its staff consistent with all applicable statutes, regulations, and Executive orders.
  - (d) ASSISTANCE FROM FEDERAL AGENCIES.—
- (1) GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION.— Upon the request of the Commission, the Administrator of General Services shall provide to the Commission, on a reimbursable basis, the administrative support services and office space necessary for the Commission to carry out its purposes and functions under this Act.
- (2) OTHER FEDERAL DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES.—In addition to the assistance prescribed in paragraph (1), Federal departments and agencies may provide to the Commission such services, funds, facilities, staff, and other support services as determined advisable and authorized by law.
- (e) CONVEYANCES AND OTHER DEVISES.—The Commission may accept, use, and dispose of devises of services or property, both real and personal, for the purpose of aiding or facilitating the work of the Commission.
- (f) POSTAL SERVICES.—The Commission may use the United States mail in the same manner and under the same conditions as Federal departments and agencies.

#### SEC. 7. STAFF OF COMMISSION.

- (a) APPOINTMENT.—
- (1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in paragraph (2), the Chairperson, in consultation with the Vice-Chairperson, in accordance with rules agreed upon by the Commission, may appoint and fix the compensation of a Staff Director and such other personnel as may be necessary to enable the Commission to carry out its purposes and functions, without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, and without regard to the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates, except that no rate of pay fixed under this subsection may exceed the equivalent of that payable for a position at level IV of the Executive Schedule under section 5315 of title 5, United States Code.
- (2) PERSONNEL AS FEDERAL EMPLOYEES.—
- (A) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of the Congressional Accountability Act of 1995 (18 U.S.C. 1301 et seq.)—
- (i) the Commission shall be considered an employing office; and
- (ii) the personnel of the Commission shall be considered covered employees.
- (B) MEMBERS OF COMMISSION.—Subparagraph (A) shall not apply to apply to members of the Commission.
- (b) EXPERTS AND CONSULTANTS.—The Commission is authorized to procure temporary and intermittent services under section 3109 of title 5, United States Code, but at rates for individuals not to exceed the daily equivalent of the maximum annual rate of basic pay under level IV of the Executive Schedule under section 5315 of title 5, United States Code.
- (c) DETAILEES.—The head of any Federal department or agency may detail, on a non-reimbursable basis, any of the personnel of that department or agency to the Commission to assist the Commission in carrying out its purposes and functions.

## SEC. 8. SECURITY CLEARANCES FOR MEMBERS AND STAFF.

The appropriate Federal departments or agencies shall cooperate with the Commis-

sion in expeditiously providing to the Commission members and staff appropriate security clearances to the extent possible pursuant to existing procedures and requirements, except that no person may be provided with access to classified information under this Act without the appropriate security clearances.

## SEC. 9. NONAPPLICABILITY OF FEDERAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ACT.

- (a) IN GENERAL.—The Federal Advisory Committee Act (5 U.S.C. App.) shall not apply to the Commission.
- (b) PUBLIC MEETINGS AND RELEASE OF PUBLIC VERSIONS OF REPORTS.—The Commission shall—
- (1) hold public hearings and meetings to the extent appropriate; and
- (2) release public versions of the reports submitted pursuant to section 10.
- (c) CONDUCT OF PUBLIC HEARINGS.—Any public hearings of the Commission shall be conducted in a manner consistent with the protection of information provided to or developed for or by the Commission as required by any applicable statute, regulation, or Executive order.

#### SEC. 10. REPORTS; TERMINATION.

- (a) INTERIM REPORTS.—The Commission may submit to the President and Congress interim reports containing such findings, conclusions, and recommendations for corrective measures as have been agreed to by a majority of Commission members.
- (b) FINAL REPORT.—Not later than December 31, 2021, the Commission shall submit to the President and Congress a final report containing such findings, conclusions, and recommendations for corrective measures as have been agreed to by a majority of Commission members.
- (c) Termination.-
- (1) IN GENERAL.—The Commission, and all the authorities of this Act, shall terminate upon the expiration of the 60-day period which begins on the date on which the Commission submits the final report under subsection (b).
- (2) ADMINISTRATIVE ACTIVITIES BEFORE TERMINATION.—The Commission may use the 60-day period referred to in paragraph (1) for the purpose of concluding its activities, including providing testimony to committees of Congress concerning its reports and disseminating the final report.

## ${\bf SEC.~11.~ARCHIVING.}$

The records of the Commission shall be transferred to the Center for Legislative Archives at the National Archives and Records Administration upon termination of the Commission pursuant to paragraph (1) of section 10(c).

## SEC. 12. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.

- (a) IN GENERAL.—There is authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out this Act.
- (b) AVAILABILITY OF FUNDS.—Amounts appropriated pursuant to the authorization under this section shall remain available until expended.

## SEC. 13. DEFINITIONS.

- In this Act:
- (1) DOMESTIC TERRORISM.—The term "domestic terrorism" has the meaning given such term in section 2331 of title 18, United States Code.
- (2) Instrumentality of government.—The term "instrumentality of government" means Federal, State, local, Tribal, and territorial agencies.
- (3) INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY.—The term "intelligence community" has the meaning given such term in section 3(4) of the National Security Act of 1947 (50 U.S.C. 3003(4)).
- (4) MALIGN FOREIGN INFLUENCE OPERATIONS AND CAMPAIGNS.—The term "malign foreign influence operations and campaigns" has the

meaning given such term in section 101(h) of the National Security Act of 1947 (50 U.S.C. 3021(h)).

(5) TARGETED VIOLENCE.—The term "targeted violence" means an incident of violence in which an attacker selected a particular target in order to inflict mass injury or death with no discernable political or ideological motivation beyond mass injury or death.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The bill shall be debatable for 1 hour equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on Homeland Security.

The gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. THOMPSON) and the gentleman from New York (Mr. KATKO) each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Mississippi.

### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on this measure.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 3233, the National Commission to Investigate the January 6 Attack on the United States Capitol Complex Act.

On January 6, the world watched Americans storm the Capitol and engage in violence to try and intimidate and prevent Congress from carrying out its constitutional duty to certify a Presidential election, a solemn process central to the peaceful transfer of power in our democracy.

Many of us sitting here today were rushed out of this very Chamber by Capitol Police to safety as violent attackers roamed the halls, hunting for our colleagues and the Vice President.

I was in the gallery that day watching the debate when this temple of our democracy was desecrated and debased.

At least one Capitol Police officer died because of the violence that day. Others died, too.

And there were extensive injuries associated with the attacks, not the least of which was the body blow to Americans' confidence that the reforms undertaken after the 9/11 terrorist attacks would make us more secure.

Like the 9/11 attacks, the events of January 6 have cast a long shadow on our country. And like the 9/11 attacks, the January 6 attack raises fundamental questions about information sharing, coordination, preparedness, and response at all levels of government.

We need a bipartisan commission made up of experts to come together to give us an unvarnished view of what happened that day, examine why our systems failed, and develop bipartisan recommendations for reform to address any identified gaps.

I am proud to be here with my partner on the Homeland Security Committee, the gentleman from New York, John Katko, to debate a bill that establishes a 10-member commission that mirrors the 9/11 Commission, the gold standard for bipartisan commissions.

The January 6 commission would be required to investigate and report on the facts and causes of the attack, including relevant contributing factors.

A commission of this nature, in some form, has been talked about by Members of Congress, national security experts, and others for some time now. Over the past 4 months, discussion drafts have been circulated, pros and cons have been weighed, and obstacles have been overcome to get us to this day.

Given how politically charged the events of January 6 have become, we need to come together in a patriotic, bipartisan way and approve this independent body just as we created the 9/11 Commission.

The 9/11 Commission acted, not out of partisanship, but out of patriotism. We need that same sense of duty today.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. KATKO. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, this year, we will observe the 20th anniversary of the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001. It will serve as a somber reminder of the fragility of our security, the bravery of our law enforcement and first responders, and the resilience of our democracy

After the attacks on 9/11, Congress recognized the importance of establishing a bipartisan commission to investigate these brazen acts of terrorism. This body recognized the need to find the truth and help all of us understand how these heinous acts that not only forever changed our country, but also the entire world, could have been carried out.

The highly respected 9/11 Commission identified numerous challenges that needed to be addressed, which ultimately led to many concrete recommendations that were later enacted into law. These critical reforms vastly improved our information sharing, intelligence collection, vetting capabilities, and broader homeland security enterprise.

The security breach that took place at the U.S. Capitol on January 6 was completely unacceptable. It was a major breakdown in information sharing and preparedness, much like the shortfalls that existed prior to 9/11. It was not only an attack on this institution but an attack on our law enforcement brethren who defend us every day.

Unfortunately, we know that the Capitol, Federal buildings, and even Members of Congress remain a target for extremists of all ideologies, as we all saw most recently during the April 2 vehicle attack that took the life of Capitol Police Officer William "Billy" Evans

The bill before us today, H.R. 3233, would create an independent, bipartisan commission to investigate the relevant facts and circumstances relating to the January 6 attack on the Capitol, as well as targeted violence and domestic terrorism relevant to that attack.

It also charges the commission with providing and finding recommendations to, among other things, prevent, prepare for, and respond to similar attacks; improve the security posture of the Capitol complex; and ensure the security of Members of Congress and congressional staff.

Modeled after the 9/11 Commission, this bill creates a 10-member panel with five commissioners appointed by each party and equal subpoena authority.

While the expedited December 2021 deadline would only give the commission about 6 months to do its job, there is good reason for that: The American people and the Capitol Police deserve answers and action as soon as possible to ensure that nothing like this ever happens again.

We must find answers to the many questions surrounding that day. What information was known leading up to January 6? Why was that information not shared with the proper entities? Why were Capitol Police officers left so unprepared? Who failed to provide them with support? Why did it take so long for reinforcements to come to their aid? How can we improve the decisionmaking and bureaucracy that is clearly hampering the Capitol Police and the security of the Capitol complex? How can we ensure that the Capitol, Members of Congress, and our staffs are secure from attacks? And how do we ensure that this is a safer place for the members of the Capitol Police force who risk their lives every day to protect us?

These are only a few of the many questions that need to be answered. The American people and the Capitol Police deserve those answers.

As I have called for since the days just after the attack, an independent, 9/11-style review is critical for removing the politics around January 6 and focusing solely on the facts and circumstances of the security breach at the Capitol, as well as other instances of violence relevant to such a review.

Make no mistake about it, Mr. THOMPSON and I know this is about facts. It is not partisan politics. We would have never gotten to this point if it was about partisan politics.

Thanks to the strong partnership with Mr. Thompson, the Homeland Security Committee remains a bipartisan committee focused on securing the Nation while leaving partisanship at the door, which is exactly what the American people expect of us.

Chairman Thompson and I were able to work together to block out all the political noise surrounding the January 6 attack and turn the Speaker's partisan proposal into a reasonable, nonpartisan bill.

Now, H.R. 3233 is nearly identical to the original commission bill, H.R. 275, that I, along with 30 other Republican cosponsors, introduced on January 13, 6 days after the attack.

I sincerely appreciate Chairman THOMPSON's robust collaboration and strong commitment, as well as his friendship, by working together on this effort. The American people expect Congress to put partisanship aside for the sake of our homeland security.

I fully recognize that in a diverse body like this, Members come down on different sides of different issues. I welcome that. We all should. That is America; because, after all, none of this is personal. It is about our mutual desire to keep America safe and secure. To my friends on both sides of the aisle, I welcome honest, vigorous, and civil debate.

At the end of the day, I strongly believe this is fair and necessary legislation. I encourage all Members, Republicans and Democrats alike, to put down their swords just for once and support this bill.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, let me just say to the ranking member, this won't be the last time that we put together legislation for the good of this country, I assure you of that.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. TORRES), the vice chair of the Homeland Security Committee.

## □ 1615

Mr. TORRES of New York. Mr. Speaker, when I was sworn in the week of January 6, I never imagined living through an insurrection against the U.S. Capitol during the electoral college vote count.

On January 6, I felt the same sense of shock and trauma that I had felt on 9/11. Like most of America, I took for granted that the peaceful transfer of power is so natural as to transcend even the most turbulent period of partisan politics.

I was wrong. We were all wrong. Democracy is too fragile to be taken for granted. It demands from all of us a vigilant defense.

As Members of the United States Congress, we took an oath to defend and uphold the Constitution of the United States. The insurrection against the U.S. Capitol was a literal and metaphorical assault on the very Constitution we have been charged with defending.

The January 6 Commission is, therefore, not a choice, but an obligation. We have a duty to investigate what happened and why it happened and who is responsible.

As a Congress, if we are not able or willing to ascertain the full truth surrounding an invasion of our very home, of our Nation's Capitol, then why are we here? The 11th-hour attempt to sabotage a bipartisan, bicameral position is not a difference of opinion, nor is it politics as usual. It is an abdication of the oath that we took to uphold the Constitution.

The United States of America is not a cult of personality, it is a Nation of laws. And our loyalty should not be to one political figure or one political party. Our highest loyalty should be to our country and the Constitution that governs it.

We must never forget that the truth trumps politics. And if the truth is what we seek, then we have nothing to fear from bringing the clarity that only truth can bring to the chaos and confusion of January 6.

Mr. KATKO. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Michi-

gan (Mr. Meijer).
Mr. Meijer. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to express my strongest support for H.R. 3233, a bill to establish a bipartisan commission to investigate the disgraceful January 6 attack on this institution.

Let us be clear, the imperative to have a public, objective, fact-based investigation of the Capitol attack is not a partisan issue and it should never be treated as such. A violent mob breached this building to disrupt the lawful Presidential transition and threaten the lives of Vice President Pence and Members of Congress. That this mob attacked the Capitol with the encouragement of prominent elected officials is a chilling reminder of President Reagan's warning that "freedom is never more than one generation away from extinction."

Unfortunately, many who rightly criticized and condemned the attack that day have walked back their words or softened their speech. But even more troubling, there has been an active effort to whitewash and rewrite the shameful events of that day to avoid accountability and turn away from difficult truths.

If we avoid confronting what happened here just a few short months ago, we can be sure that intimidation, coercion, and violence will become a defining feature of our politics.

On the evening of January 6, as I was walking back to the Capitol after it was cleared of rioters, I received a text from a constituent who asserted that those who stormed the Capitol today were the true American heroes, that the election was a fraud, and that I must know that that was true. He then warned: "You can bet that there will be more blood on Congress' hands if you let that stand."

I refuse to accept that possibility, this abrogation of our sacred obligation to the Republic. There is no replacement for an independent, bipartisan commission with a mandate to produce a definitive report to the public to clear away myths and fictions and get right on the facts.

This is not picking at a scab. In order to scab over, a cut has to first heal. Rather than start to mend, the wound from January 6 was hastily bandaged and continues to fester. Only by airing it out and addressing what occurred can we hope to move past and heal. I applaud my friend, Congressman JOHN KATKO, for his good-faith, bipartisan leadership to put this commission in place.

Mr. Speaker, I supported this effort in January, I support it today, and I urge my colleagues to do so as well.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. GOTTHEIMER).

Mr. GOTTHEIMER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today, as a member of the Committee on Homeland Security, in strong support of H.R. 3233, Chairman THOMPSON and Ranking Member KATKO's bill to form a bipartisan, independent commission to investigate the January 6 domestic terrorism attack on the United States Capitol.

On January 6, the world witnessed an attempted insurrection against our government to overturn the will of the American people. I know that because I was right here in this House Chamber that day as doors were barricaded and Members and staff were forced to evacuate. The mob that stormed our Capitol, resulting in the death of a Capitol police officer, tore down the American flag and desecrated the seat of our democracy. These lawless thugs, led by members of extremist groups like the Oath Keepers, and Proud Boys, and Stop the Steal, attempted an insurrection. In the end, they failed. We gathered back together here, uncowed, and the electoral college was certified.

Mr. Speaker, but true healing cannot come without a serious investigation and real accountability. I am very proud that last night, the bipartisan Problem Solvers Caucus, 29 Democrats and 29 Republicans, came together to endorse this legislation, putting aside politics to get to the bottom of what happened that day.

This bipartisan commission, modeled on the 9/11 Commission, will undertake an investigation into the facts and what caused the attack.

Mr. Speaker, this legislation will help us deter further would-be extremists, and provide the law enforcement homeland security community with the tools needed to protect the Capitol and our country from future attacks.

I thank Chairman THOMPSON and Ranking Member KATKO for their extraordinary leadership and months of hard work together on the bill, the way governing should occur.

Mr. Speaker, I urge all my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to join in support of securing and protecting the very foundation of our democracy.

Mr. KATKO. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York (Mr. JEFFRIES), chair of the Democratic Caucus.

Mr. JEFFRIES. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished chair for his tremendous leadership. Mr. Speaker, the January 6 bipartisan commission will explore what happened on that fateful day, why it happened, and how do we prevent another violent insurrection and attack on the Capitol from ever happening again.

In the aftermath of the attack on Pearl Harbor, America had a bipartisan commission. In the aftermath of the September 11 attack, America had a bipartisan commission. In the aftermath of the attack on this Capitol on January 6, America should have a bipartisan commission.

The violent insurrection was an attack on the Congress, the Constitution, and the Capitol. Lives were lost. More than 140 officers were seriously injured. A violent mob stormed this building to assassinate the Speaker, hang Mike Pence, and hunt down Members of Congress. They urinated, defecated, and desecrated the citadel of our democracy.

It was a violent attack designed to bring about one objective; halt Congress from undertaking our constitutional responsibilities. And yet, a few of my colleagues seem to want to convince America that it was all puppies and rainbows. We will not be hoodwinked. We will not be bamboozled. We will not be led astray.

The January 6 bipartisan commission will find the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. And that is the American way.

Mr. KATKO. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Rhode Island (Mr. Langevin), the former Secretary of State from Rhode Island, who is now a member of the Committee on Homeland Security.

Mr. LANGEVIN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of H.R. 3233. On September 11, 2001, I was a freshman in Congress. We suffered attacks that day because of a failure of imagination. Since then, I have dedicated myself to getting ahead of the curve, to seeing over the horizon, to preventing another such devastating surprise. Yet, on January 6, I, along with so many others, was caught by surprise.

In the past 5 months, I have reflected. What signs did we miss? Were we unprepared for a tide of American rioters? Why were some citizens actually taking the big lie about the election seriously enough to actually commit violence?

The January 6 commission will answer these and many other difficult questions and deliver a complete record for posterity of what could possibly have happened to bring about such a betrayal of our democracy.

We will not defeat darkness with darkness. We need light. We will not defeat lies with lies. We need truth. This commission will bring forth the truth and it is only the truth that can truly heal the rift that is tearing our country apart.

Mr. Speaker, I thank Chairman THOMPSON and Ranking Member KATKO for their leadership.

Mr. KATKO. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. UPTON).

Mr. UPTON. Mr. Speaker, January 6 is going to haunt this institution for a long, long time. No, it was not the joyous day on Capitol Hill with our constituents celebrating the start of a new Congress and a new administration. COVID came first, then this.

So nearly 5 months later, we still don't have the answers to the basic questions: Who knew what? When? What did they do about it?

Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleagues, KATKO and THOMPSON, for the really good job on working together to establish a bipartisan commission seeking to find the answers to the questions that are still out there.

Hundreds of people were arrested. People died. Millions of dollars of damage to this building, feces spread on the walls, and, yes, the very core of democracy, this institution, was threatened.

I wasn't in the Chamber that day when the breach was attempted, but I heard the shouts, saw the flash bangs, smelled the gas on that sorry day. And if it had not been for the brave Capitol and Metropolitan policemen and women that day, who knows how many of our heads would have been swinging on those gallows that were constructed on the east front of the Capitol.

I talked to the exhausted SWAT team members, the police, and watched some of the body cams. I talked to some of our still-shaken colleagues who endured that day.

Mr. Speaker, we need the answers, not political rhetoric. That is what this bipartisan commission can provide for all of us, for our country. Let the truth shine in.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California, (Mr. CORREA).

Mr. CORREA. Mr. Speaker, I thank Chairman THOMPSON and Ranking Member KATKO for this legislation.

Mr. Speaker, this bill is simply about the truth. It is about the truth behind the assault on our Capitol on January 6. Enough with lies. Enough with conspiracy theories. The January 6 commission will have the power, power to find the truth. It will have subpoena power to compel people to testify, to testify under oath under penalty of perjury.

An attack on our Capitol, an attack on our democracy, an attack on the election of our President—these cannot be tolerated, and they cannot happen again.

What happened? What happened January 6? This bill is about sunshine, this bill is about transparency. That is why I ask for every Member on this floor, I ask you to vote "aye" on this most important measure.

Mr. KATKO. Mr. Speaker, I just want to note for the RECORD that the subpoena to which my colleague from California mentioned can only be issued if there is a consensus by both sides of the aisle on the commission. It is not something that one side can do unilaterally. And that is one of the key provisions of this, because it depoliticizes the process and it is a consensus-driven process.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GREEN), a member of the Committee on Homeland Security.

Mr. GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, and still I rise, and I rise today understanding that William Cullen Bryant was right: "Truth, crushed to earth, shall rise again." Whether you believe that it was just a group of tourists walking through the Capitol or not, you should want this commission.

## □ 1630

If you believe that it was an insurrection, you should want this commission. You should want this commission because you cannot bury the truth in an earthly grave of lies and not realize the words of William Cullen Bryant, "Truth, crushed to earth, shall rise again."

Mr. Speaker, I want to thank Chairman Thompson and the ranking member for standing together to make this moment possible. Bipartisanship is achieved when you have good decent people who can stand together for the good of all.

God bless you, dear brothers.

Mr. KATKO. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. Jackson Lee).

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman and I thank the ranking member for showing, no matter how much confusion and upside down interpretation that leadership may give in changing their mind, truth will prevail.

Let us show what America is today. Let us show what unity is today. Let me take a few moments to explain why the intended purpose of the January 6 insurrection to disrupt the joint meeting of Congress to tally the votes of Presidential electors and announce the results to the Nation and the world was the greatest threat to the American Experiment since the Civil War, when the pro-slavery forces would rather make war than let the Nation survive, and pro-freedom forces would accept war rather than let the Nation perish.

Mr. Speaker, I was here on 9/11, and I understand what we did not get accomplished, yet when we became part of the Homeland Security Committee, we moved the 9/11 Commission that still stands as the standard-bearer for finding out what happened.

All the American people want, and those officers who were beat and beat and beat, is to find out the truth. This commission will help us find out the truth. It will answer the cry of those law enforcement officers who were called racial names. We will be able to explain why someone was trying to kill the Vice President, kill the Speaker, and kill Members of Congress.

This is a truth time. Can we stand for truth?

And might I add, I want to thank all of those officers who put their line in front for us. Let us get them the truth so the Nation will know the truth and so we can stand on the truth and be free.

Mr. Speaker, as Chair of the Judiciary Subcommittee on Crime, Homeland Security, and Terrorism, and a senior member of the Homeland Security, and Budget Committees, I rise in strong support of H.R. 3233, the National Commission to Investigate the January 6 Attack on the Capitol Complex Act, which establishes a national commission charged with investigating and reporting upon the facts and causes of the January 6, 2021, attack on the U.S. Capitol as well as the influencing factors that may have provoked the attack on our democracy.

Specifically, the January 6 Commission's mandate includes:

1. examining and evaluating evidence developed by relevant Federal, State, and local governments, in a manner that is respectful of ongoing investigations, regarding the facts and circumstances of the attack;

2. building upon other investigations regarding the attack and targeted violence and domestic terrorism related to such attack; and

3, reporting to the President and Congress regarding its findings, conclusions, and recommendations for corrective measures taken to prevent future acts of targeted violence and domestic terrorism and improves the security posture of the United States Capitol Complex in a manner that preserves the accessibility of the Capitol Complex for all Americans, and strengthen the security and resilience of nation and American democratic institutions against domestic terrorism.

Like the 9/11 Commission, the measure establishes a 10-person bipartisan commission with five commissioners, including the Chair, appointed by the Speaker of the House and the Majority Leader of the Senate and five commissioners, including the Vice Chair, appointed by the Minority Leaders of the House and Senate.

Like the 9/11 Commission, the January 6 Commission will be granted authority to issue subpoenas to secure information to carry out its investigation but only upon agreement between the Chair and the Vice Chair or a vote by a majority of Commission members.

January 6 Commissioners must have significant expertise in the areas of law enforcement, civil rights, civil liberties, privacy, intelligence, and cybersecurity. Current government officers or employees are prohibited from appointment.

The January 6 Commission will be required to issue a final report with findings regarding the facts and causes of the attack, along with recommendations to prevent future attacks on our democratic institutions, by December 31, 2021.

Like September 11, 2001, we cannot and must not ever forget the existential threat faced by our democracy on January 6, 2021, when thousands of domestic terrorists inspired

by the 45th President stormed the U.S. Capitol in a violent, crazed, and desperate effort to disrupt the Joint Meeting of Congress prescribed by the Constitution to tally the votes of presidential electors and announce the results to the nation and the world.

Mr. Speaker, the morning of September 11, 2001, is, and will always be, a day like no other.

It is a day all living Americans will remember because not since Pearl Harbor had there been such a dastardly and deadly attack on American soil.

My heart still grieves for those who perished on flights United Airlines 93, American Airlines 77, American Airlines 11, and United Airlines 175.

When the sun rose on the morning of September 11, none of us knew that it would end in an inferno in the magnificent World Trade Center Towers in New York City and the Pentagon and in the grassy fields of Shanksville, Pennsylvania.

Mr. Speaker, as hard as it is to believe, out of a tragedy so overwhelming and horrific, something good and great emerged in the aftermath of September 11.

On that day there were no Republicans or Democrats; there were no Northerners or Southerners or West or East Coasters.

We were not Red State or Blue State; we were all simply Americans.

On that day, we were united in our shock and anger and sadness and in our resolve to defend our country and protect the freedoms that has made America the greatest country in the history of the world.

I experienced the same gamut of emotions on January 6: grief, hope, resolve, and fierce commitment to protect our country.

Mr. Speaker, the assault on the U.S. Capitol by domestic terrorists and insurrectionists rightly takes its place as one of the darkest moments in our nation's history since the Civil War.

Mr. Speaker, the January 6 insurrection caused tragic loss of life and many injuries, while leaving behind widespread physical damage to the Capitol Complex and emotional trauma for Members, Congressional employees, and the Capitol Police.

It bears repeating often that the Congress and the nation owe undying gratitude to the men and women who answered the call of constitutional duty and heroically won the day on that bloody and deadly afternoon.

That is why I introduced H. Res. 169, a resolution commending the officers of the United States Capitol Police Department, the Metropolitan Police Department of Washington, DC, and other law enforcement personnel for their selfless and heroic service in defense of American democracy in responding to the assault on the United States Capitol by domestic terrorists on January 6, 2021.

H. Res. 169 notes that the January 6, 2021, siege of the Capitol assault resulted in one of the worst days of injuries for law enforcement in the United States since the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks but that the officers of the United States Capitol Police Department, the Metropolitan Police Department of Washington, DC, and other uniformed law enforcement officers stood their ground in defense of American democracy while being attacked metal pipes, discharged chemical irritants, and other weapons

The resolution conveys the thanks and appreciation of a grateful nation to them for their

selfless and heroic service, encourages all educational and media institutions throughout the United States to teach and celebrate the story of their heroism and patriotism; and calls upon all Americans to read, celebrate, and revere the Constitution of the United States, fidelity to which is the surest best means of forming a more perfect union, establishing justice, ensuring domestic tranquility, providing for the common defense, promoting the general welfare, and securing the blessing of liberty to them and their posterity.

Mr. Speaker, the domestic terrorists and seditionists who attacked the Capitol Building on January 6, 2021, were not, as some of their ardent defenders and apologists across the aisle have stated falsely, on a "normal tour visit"; nor was their effort to lay siege to the Capitol and disrupt the processes of government an act of persons who love their country.

And it is absurd to suggest that it was a celebration of the United States and what it stands for when the leading edge of terrorists desecrated the Capitol by offensively parading the treasonous Confederate flag through the building and when, because of their insurrection, several members of law enforcement made the supreme sacrifice and scores more were seriously injured.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to take a few moments to explain why the intended purpose of the January 6 insurrection—to disrupt the Joint Meeting of Congress to tally the votes of presidential electors and announce the results to the nation and the world—was the greatest threat to the American Experiment since the Civil War when the proslavery forces would rather make war than let the nation survive and the pro-freedom forces would accept war rather than let the nation perish.

Mr. Speaker, the Framers had first-hand experience with the types of abuses and usurpations committed by political leaders who ruled them but were not accountable to them and detailed many of those wrongs in the Declaration of Independence.

The Framers understood and declared to the world that democratic governors derived their powers from the knowing and voluntary consent of the governed as expressed in free, fair, and unfettered elections unmarred by the influence or sabotage of any foreign country or entity not a member of the political community.

The Framers understood that if elections are influenced by foreign actors or authoritarian forces within, then voters are reduced from the great role of citizens to mere subjects, and government for and by the people is a sham.

The most important feature of a democracy is that it is the voters who alone can confer the legitimate consent and authorization necessary to govern upon the governors who are then duty-bound to represent the voters' interests, and only their interests.

Mr. Speaker, the fundamental democratic compact between the governed and the governors is that the latter's authority and continuance in office comes exclusively from the governed and allegiance is owed exclusively to the governed.

This agreement can only be reached through free and fair elections, a breach of which threatens the vitality and viability of the social contract upon which democratic self-rule of, by, and for the people depends.

Mr. Speaker, President Lincoln called the United States the "last best hope of man on earth" and stated at Gettysburg the impor-

tance of finishing the work we are in to ensure that "government of the people, for the people, by the people does not perish from the earth."

By our actions in voting to establish and empower a National Commission to Investigate the January 6 Attack on the Capitol Complex, we are taking an indispensable step in ensuring the preservation of our democracy, which has been the envy of the world for than 240 years.

I urge all Members to join me in voting for H.R. 3233, the National Commission to Investigate the January 6 Attack on the Capitol Complex Act.

Mr. KATKO. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from New York (Ms. CLARKE).

Ms. CLARKE of New York. Mr. Speaker, I rise today on behalf of the American people, our Republic, my colleagues, congressional staff, Capitol Police officers, and the late Officer Brian Sicknick, in support of H.R. 3233, the National Commission to Investigate the January 6 Attack on the United States Capitol Complex Act.

Let me be very clear: What took place on January 6 in the United States Capitol Building was an act of domestic terrorism. To witness this hallowed place, the seat of our democracy, being breached and invaded by a mob of incensed blood-thirsty individuals, sycophants, all as we barricaded ourselves in our offices and on this floor, fearing for our lives, was devastating beyond belief. It was an attack on our democracy. Full stop.

This commission is necessary to ensure all parties involved are brought to justice and the American people are made aware of the facts and causes that led to this heinous act of domestic terrorism.

Mr. KATKO. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, how much time do we have remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Mississippi has 16 minutes remaining. The gentleman from New York has 20 minutes remaining.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. SWALWELL).

Mr. SWALWELL. Mr. Speaker, today, our country has a choice: Our Constitution or chaos?

Our democracy was attacked on January 6. We survived this once, but we will not survive another attack. This commission ensures that we are better prepared if one is to come to this House again.

We don't just owe this to our democracy, we owe it to the men and women in uniform, who fought in hand-to-hand combat for hours to protect our lives. These are the cops that we see every day. These are the cops who take care of us. Three of them lost their life. One of them lost a number of fingers, and one of them had his eye gouged out. Don't walk away from these cops.

We can't agree on much as a country anymore. We choose the news that agrees with us. But this commission cannot be spun. The testimony is the testimony. It is unimpeachable. It is going to be factual. And we owe those facts, the ground truth, not only to our democracy, but to the police officers who so bravely served us that day.

Mr. KATKO. Mr. Speaker, I reserve

the balance of my time.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from New York (Miss RICE).

Miss RICE of New York. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of H.R. 3233, the National Commission to Investigate the January 6 Attack on the United States Capitol Complex Act.

This cannot be said enough, January 6 was an act of domestic terrorism. An armed mob of insurrectionists stormed the Capitol intending to murder the Speaker, the Vice President, and Members of Congress.

We cannot let our friends on the other side of the aisle whitewash the events of that day. We cannot let them gaslight the American people by calling January 6 an ordinary tourist visit.

The 9/11-style commission we are proposing in this bill will issue a full report on the facts and provide recommendations to prevent future attacks.

Mr. Speaker, I truly appreciate Chairman THOMPSON and Ranking Member Katko for negotiating this bill in good faith.

I thank my friend, Ranking Member KATKO, for actually recognizing the events of January 6 and working to find a bipartisan path forward, despite the opposition in his own party. That is a true act of courage and being a true American.

Mr. KATKO. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Florida (Mrs. Demings).

Mrs. DEMINGS. Mr. Speaker, the insurrectionists attacked this very building we are standing in right now. The violent mob attacked, bear-sprayed, and beat down the police officers who protect us every day. 140 officers were injured, and we need to care about that. Some have died, and they deserved better.

Mr. Speaker, accountability and truth are the foundation upon which all of our rights and freedoms exist. We need answers, and this commission will give them to us. We need accountability, and this commission will pave the way for full accountability. We need an independent commission, and a vote against it is a vote for a cover-up.

Choose ye this day whom you will serve. Our democracy or the big lie?

History will remember us.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support this legislation.

Mr. KATKO. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentle-

from California woman BARRAGÁN).

Ms. BARRAGÁN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of the National Commission to Investigate the January 6 Attack on the United States Capitol Complex Act.

So many questions have surfaced since the attempted insurrection from January 6, but one question encompasses everything: What happened?

A truth-telling commission will set the record straight about the January 6 uprising, its causes, and potential remedial measures. This is about a factfinding and truth-telling mission. It was the very absence of these two things that helped bring the insurrection on January 6.

We can't move on until we look back and make sure we know what happened, why, and make sure it never happens again.

On behalf of fallen Capitol Police Officer Sicknick, the men and women of the U.S. Capitol Police, the congressional and Capitol Hill staff that keep our offices running, and the American people, we must uncover the truth.

Mr. KATKO. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Virginia (Mrs. LURIA).

Mrs. LURIA. Mr. Speaker, like all of us, I watched with horror as our Capitol was overrun on January 6 by those seeking to overturn a free and fair elec-

As a 20-year Navy veteran, I swore an oath multiple times throughout my career to support and defend our Constitution against all enemies, foreign and domestic. As Members of Congress. we swear the same oath, and we swear this oath, not as a member of a political party, but as Americans. There is no carve-out for political expediency.

I implore every Member of this body to uphold their oath and vote in support of this bipartisan commission. The American people deserve to understand exactly what happened that day in January.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues not to turn this into a partisan litmus test, not to pit Republican against Democrat, and not to perpetuate the big lie. Finding the truth should not be controversial or a question of partisanship.

This is about our shared future, the future of this Congress, and the future of democracy. We must do this together, and I urge an "aye" vote.

Mr. KATKO. Mr. Speaker, I reserve

the balance of my time.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD a listing of national security, military, and elected officials, former Members of Congress, U.S. Attorneys, diplomats, all who have specific expertise in this matter before the body today.

LETTER FROM FORMER SENIOR NATIONAL SE-CURITY, MILITARY, AND ELECTED OFFICIALS CALLING ON CONGRESS TO CREATE A BIPAR- ${\tt TISAN~1/6~COMMISSION}$ 

DEAR MEMBERS OF CONGRESS: We are former senior national security, military, and elected officials who have represented or served Democrats, Republicans, or administrations of both parties. We write to encourage this Congress to establish an independent and bipartisan national commission to investigate the January 6th assault of the U.S. Capitol Complex and its direct causes, and to make recommendations to prevent future assaults and strengthen the resilience of our democratic institutions.

We also write to you with great urgency in light of what we collectively see as an exigent and growing threat. The events of January 6th exposed severe vulnerabilities in the nation's preparedness for preventing and responding to domestic terrorist attacks. The immediate security failings that permitted a lethal breach of the Capitol Complex by armed extremists raise serious questions and demand immediate solutions.

But January 6th was also the result of complex national security threats. These include coordinated disinformation campaigns, nontransparent financing of extremist networks, potential foreign influences, and white supremacist violent extremism, which the Department of Homeland Security identified in an October 2020 report as among "the most persistent and lethal threat[s] in the Homeland." As FBI Director Christopher Wray testified to you recently, "January 6th was not an isolated event. The problem of domestic terrorism has been metastasizing across the country for a long time now and it's not going away anytime soon." Understanding how these forces culminated in an attack on the infrastructure of our democracy is critical to preventing future attacks.

In the wake of September 11th, the administration and Congress jointly acknowledged that the attack's causes were complex and that an independent and well-equipped national commission was an essential tool to aid the federal government. Congressional inquiries, law enforcement activities, and a national commission not only worked in parallel, but critically complemented each other's necessary work. An independent commission should not supplant the ongoing work by the legislative and executive branches, but it can uniquely support them by providing comprehensive and expert recommendations for Congress to act upon.

Commissions—properly empowered, resourced, and led-can establish a full picture of events and an analysis of their causes, from which nonpartisan recommendations can authoritatively flow. With dedicated time, resources, and expert staffing, they can also exclusively focus on the matter at hand over an appropriate time horizon. Given the gravity of January 6th as a national security matter-the violent disruption to the transition of power and the continuing threat of future attacks-a national commission examining the lead up to the January 6th assault, and the attendant security lapses, is not only appropriate, but a critical component of the national response.

A failure to deploy the full suite of tools available to fully understand January 6th and address its causes will leave the Capitol, and the nation, vulnerable to future attacks. In bipartisan fashion, we have successfully marshaled these tools before, and we implore you to do so once again.

Sincerely,

(Note: All titles are former positions or military ranks held prior to retirement.)

Javed Ali, Senior Director for Counterterrorism, National Security Council.

Thad Allen, Admiral, U.S. Coast Guard; Commandant of the Coast Guard.

Wendy R. Anderson, Deputy Chief of Staff, U.S. Department of Defense.

Daniel Baer, U.S. Ambassador; Deputy Assistant Secretary of State.

Brian Baird, U.S. Representative, 1999–2011. Daniella Ballou-Aares, Senior Advisor to the Secretary of State.

Rand Beers, Acting Secretary, U.S. Department of Homeland Security; Deputy Homeland Security Advisor.

John Bellinger, Legal Adviser, U.S. Department of State; Legal Advisor, National Security Council.

Tatyana Bolton, Cyber Policy Lead—Senior Policy Analyst, U.S. Department of Homeland Security.

Charles Boustany, U.S. Representative, 2005–2017.

Steven Browning, U.S. Ambassador; Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State.

Todd F. Buchwald, U.S. Ambassador, Office of Global Criminal Justice, U.S. Department of State.

Sharon Burke, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Operational Energy.

Daniel Byman, Professional Staff Member, 9/11 Commission.

Piper Campbell, U.S. Ambassador; Head U.S. Mission to ASEAN.

Kevin Carroll, Senior Counselor to the Secretary of Homeland Security; Senior Counsel to the House Homeland Security Committee.

J.E. Cartwright, General, U.S. Marine Corps; Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Steven Cash, Chief Counsel, U.S. Senator Dianne Feinstein; Intelligence Officer, CIA; Assistant District Attorney, New York.

Assistant District Attorney, New York.
Michael Chertoff, Secretary, U.S. Department of Homeland Security.

Peter Chiarelli, General, U.S. Army, 32nd Vice Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army.

James Clapper, Director of National Intelligence.

William Cohen, Secretary, U.S. Department of Defense.

Tom Coleman, U.S. Representative, 1976–1993

Gary Corn, Colonel, U.S. Army, Staff Judge Advocate, U.S. Cyber Command.

Thomas Countryman, Assistant Secretary of State for International Security and Non-proliferation.

Ryan Crocker, U.S. Ambassador.

George Croner, Litigation Counsel, National Security Agency; Special Assistant U.S. Attorney, Criminal Division, U.S. Department of Justice.

Carlos Curbelo, U.S. Representative, 2015-2019.

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Murray Dickman, Chief of Staff to the Attorney General.

David Durenberger, U.S. Senator, 1978–1995. R.P. Eddy, Director, National Security Council; Chief of Staff, U.S. Ambassador to the U.N.

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Susan Elliott, U.S. Ambassador.

Jeffrey Feltman, United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs; U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs.

Brenner Fissell, Appellate Counsel, Guantanamo Bay Military Commissions.

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Charles Fried, Solicitor General of the United States.

Francis Fukuyama, Deputy Director, Policy Planning, U.S. Department of State.

Kim Fuller, U.S. Department of the Army, Director of International Affairs (Special Assistant to the Deputy Secretary).

Larry Garber, USAID Mission Director, West Bank/Gaza.

Richard Gephardt, U.S. Representative, 1977–2005.

Stuart Gerson, Acting Attorney General of the U.S.; Assistant Attorney General; U.S. Air Force Counterintelligence Officer.

Glenn Gerstell, General Counsel, National Security Agency.

James Glassman, Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, U.S. Department of State.

Kevin Green, Vice Admiral, U.S. Navy.

Nina Hachigian, U.S. Ambassador.

Chuck Hagel, Secretary, U.S. Department of Defense.

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Michael V. Hayden, General, U.S. Air Force; Director, CIA; Director, NSA.

Jason Healey, Director, Critical Infrastructure Protection, Homeland Security Council. Margaret Henoch, CIA Senior Intelligence Service.

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Gordon Humphrey, U.S. Senator, 1979–1991. Paul Douglas Humphries, CIA.

Carol Humphries, CIA, Captain, U.S. Navy Reserve.

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Steve Israel, U.S. Representative, 2001–2017

Jeh Johnson, Secretary, U.S. Department of Homeland Security.

Susan Koch, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Threat Reduction Policy.

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Robert Litt, General Counsel, Office of the Director of National Intelligence.

George Little, Press Secretary, Pentagon; Spokesman, CIA.

James Loy, Admiral, U.S. Coast Guard; Commandant of the U.S. Coast Guard; Deputy Secretary, U.S. Department of Homeland Security.

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Steven McGann, U.S. Ambassador.

Dennis McGinn, Vice Admiral, U.S. Navy; Assistant Secretary of the Navy.

Joseph Medina, Brigadier General, U.S. Marine Corps.

Christopher Mellon, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense.

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Annie Pforzheimer, Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Afghanistan.
Randal Phillips, Senior Intelligence Serv-

ice, CIA.
William Piekney, Senior Operations Man-

ager, CIA.
Steven Pifer, Senior Foreign Service Offi-

cer; U.S. Ambassador.

Tony Pipa, Chief Strategy Officer, USAID.

Mana Polymoropoulog, Socion Intelligence

Marc Polymeropoulos, Senior Intelligence Service, Directorate of Operations, CIA.

Allison Price, Senior Spokesperson, U.S. Department of Justice.

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Thomas Ridge, Secretary, U.S. Department of Homeland Security.

Denver Riggleman, U.S. Representative, 2019–2021.

Thomas B. Robertson, U.S. Ambassador.

Tim Roemer, 9/11 Commissioner; U.S. Ambassador; U.S. Representative, 1991–2003.

Michael Rogers, Admiral, U.S. Navy; Commander, U.S. Cyber Command; Director, National Security Agency.

Todd Rosenblum, Deputy Under Secretary of Intelligence, U.S. Department of Homeland Security.

Paul Rosenzweig, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Policy, U.S. Department of Homeland Security

Nicholas Rostow, Legal Advisor to the National Security Council; Staff Director, U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.

Joel Rubin, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State.

Nilmini Rubin, Director, National Security

David Scheffer, U.S. Ambassador.

Robert Shanks, Deputy Assistant Attorney General, Office of Legal Counsel, U.S. Department of Justice; General Counsel, Overseas Private Investment Corporation; General Counsel, Peace Corps.

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John Sipher, Senior Intelligence Service, CIA Clandestine Service.

Peter Smith, U.S. Representative, 1989–1991.

Suzanne Spaulding, Under Secretary, U.S. Department of Homeland Security.

Strobe Talbott, Deputy Secretary of State. Miles Taylor, Chief of Staff, U.S. Department of Homeland Security.

Tomicah Tillemann, Senior Advisor to the Secretary of State; Speechwriter to the Secretary of State.

Kurt Tong, U.S. Ambassador.

Olivia Troye, Homeland Security and Counterterrorism Advisor to Vice President Mike Pence.

Stanley A. Twardy, Jr., United States Attorney for the District of Connecticut, 1985–1991

Alexander Vershbow, NATO Deputy Secretary General; Assistant Secretary of Defense; U.S. Ambassador.

Alexander Vindman, Lieutenant Colonel, U.S. Army; Director for European Affairs, National Security Council. Edward Walker, U.S. Ambassador; Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs.

James Walsh, U.S. Representative, 1989–2009.

Zach Wamp, U.S. Representative, 1995–2011.

Thomas Warrick, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Counterterrorism Policy, U.S. Department of Homeland Security.

William Wechsler, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defence for Special Operations and Combatting Terrorism.

Pamela White, U.S. Ambassador,

Christine Todd Whitman, Governor of New Jersey; Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency.

Jonathan Winer, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Law Enforcement; Special Envoy for Libya.

Tim Wirth, Under Secretary of State for Democracy and Global Affairs; U.S. Senator, 1987–1993; U.S. Representative, 1975–1987.

Lawrence Wilkerson, Colonel, U.S. Army; Chief of Staff, U.S. Secretary of State.

Douglas H. Wise, CIA Senior Intelligence Service; Deputy Director, Defense Intelligence Agency.

Tamara Cofman Wittes, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State.

Stephen N. Xenakis, Brigadier General, U.S. Army.

Marie Yovanovitch, U.S. Ambassador.

Dov S. Zakheim, Under Secretary of Defense (Comptroller).

Peter D. Zimmerman, Chief Scientist, Senate Foreign Relations Committee; Chief Scientific Advisor, US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; Science Advisor for Arms Control. U.S. Department of State.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD a joint statement from Governor Tom Kean and former Congressman Lee Hamilton in support of this commission.

## [From Issue One]

JOINT STATEMENT FROM GOVERNOR TOM KEAN AND CONGRESSMAN LEE HAMILTON, CHAIR-MAN AND VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE 9/11 COM-MISSION

"We very strongly urge House Members to support H.R. 3233, the bipartisan National Commission to Investigate the January 6 Attack on the United States Capitol Complex. That bill would create a 9/11 style commission to investigate the January 6th assault on the U.S. Capitol. That was a dark day in American history, one of the darkest.

"As Chairman and Vice Chairman of the 9/11 Commission, unity of purpose was key to the effectiveness of the group. We put country above party, without bias, the events before, during and after the attack. We sought to understand our vulnerabilities in order to prevent future attacks or future acts of terrorism.

Today, democracy faces a new threat. The January 6 attack on the U.S. Capitol was one of the darkest days in the history of our country. Americans deserve an objective and an accurate account of what happened. As we did in the wake of September 11, it's time to set aside partisan politics and come together as Americans in common pursuit of truth and justice."

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD a letter from Protect Democracy, Ian Bassin, Executive Director.

 $\begin{array}{c} \text{Protect Democracy,} \\ \textit{Washington, DC, May 19, 2021.} \end{array}$ 

PROTECT DEMOCRACY URGES REPRESENTATIVES TO SUPPORT H.R. 3233, THE NATIONAL COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE THE JANUARY 6 ATTACK ON THE UNITED STATES CAPITOL COMPLEX ACT

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE: On January 6th the very foundations of our democracy—and our Congress and Capitol that lie at its heart—came under attack. More than 130 days later, Members of Congress, their staff, and their constituents are still struggling to come together to understand what happened and how to prevent it from ever happening again.

We strongly urge you to vote in favor of H.R. 3233, the National Commission to Investigate the January 6 Attack on the United States Capitol Complex Act, which would establish an independent national commission to comprehensively investigate the January 6th attack on the U.S. Capitol Complex.

This bipartisan bill is a measured and thoughtful response to the attack. It will bring together a bipartisan group of experts to examine the facts and circumstances surrounding the January 6th attack. The Commission is structured to ensure it is a bipartisan endeavor: all reports must be agreed to by a majority of Commission members and the Commission may only issue subpoenas upon an agreement between the Chair and the Vice Chair or a vote by a majority of Commission members.

The Commission will build on the work that has begun in various congressional committees to gather information and hold hearings on the attack. It will not intefere with those ongoing efforts nor will it delay immediate security fixes to the Capitol Complex.

By creating this Commission, Congress can assure the American people, and all who work in the Capitol Complex, that these events and the circumstances leading up to them are thoroughly investigated outside of the pressured and partisan environment of Congress itself.

We are grateful to Chairman Bennie Thompson and Ranking Member John Katko for their leadership in advancing this critical legislation, and we urge continued bipartisan support for the bill. Today marks an important milestone toward seeking a shared understanding, protecting our cherished freedoms, and restoring faith in government.

Sincerely,

IAN BASSIN,
Executive Director, Protect Democracy.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, we have had a number of my colleagues come before us encouraging this body to support this commission and this legislation. They have spoken valiantly in support of it. They have put their hearts and souls into making sure that it is correct and proper.

I am happy, again, to share with my colleague from New York. I appreciate working with him, and I appreciate the ability to work out our differences. I think it should be part of the role model for future legislation in this body.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. Pelosi), the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives.

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Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding. I also thank him for his great leadership working with Ranking Member Katko on bringing this bipartisan legislation

to the floor for a bipartisan commission.

Let's talk about where we are. Here we are in the Capitol of the United States. The dome of the U.S. Capitol has always been a beacon of democracy and hope to America and to the world. Under this dome, our Nation has abolished slavery; secured equal protections for all; ended a civil war; enfranchised women; established Medicare and Medicaid, voting rights and civil rights; and met the needs of the American people.

Under this dome, schoolchildren learn about their country's history and what we are doing to advance their future. They come here and see us honor those who have contributed to the success of our country: Washington, Lincoln, Jefferson, et cetera. But they know that our Founders, those patriots, wanted us to be working for a better future as we honor our history.

Under this dome, when children learn about our country's history, they also learn about what we are doing for their futures. Legislators pass laws. The press engages with our democracy, reporting on it. Staff and workers enable all of this to happen.

This dome is a symbol of the determination of America. But this was not always so. Let us recall that the dome of the Capitol was built during the Civil War as our country was riven by brutal conflict. At the time, many said the iron and steel used for construction were needed for the war effort. They urged the President not to continue the work on the dome. President Lincoln said no. He knew that our country needed a symbol of strength and unity, a reminder of the shared ideals and common purpose that built our Nation.

It was a beacon of hope to guide us through times of darkness, and he knew that the work must continue as a sign of our strength and the unity of our country.

Mr. Speaker, on January 6, and in the days, weeks, and months after, the Capitol dome was, once again, such a beacon.

Would we prevail?

January 6 was the day called for in the Constitution to validate the Presidential election. It was not just another day in the life of Congress. That day, one of the darkest days in our history, our temple of democracy was under assault by insurrectionists.

The gleeful desecration of our Capitol resulted in multiple deaths and physical harm to over 140 members of law enforcement and terror and trauma among staff, workers, and even Members.

The insurrection was called for to impede our constitutional mandate, but the Congress returned to the Capitol that night to accomplish our purpose. We agreed in a bipartisan way that day that we would return to the Capitol, and that sent an important signal to the world.

The insurrection called for people to impede our constitutional mandate,

but we returned to the Capitol. Thanks to the courage of the Capitol Police, Members, and support workers, we showed the country and, indeed, the world that we would not be diverted from our duty and that we would respect our responsibility to the Constitution of the United States.

We take that oath to protect and defend the Constitution. Again, in a bipartisan way, we agreed to come back to the Capitol.

Today, over 4 months later, many questions regarding the circumstances of this assault on our democracy and response to it remain. It is imperative that we seek the truth of what happened on January 6.

To do that, Congress must, in a spirit, I believe, of bipartisanship and patriotism, establish an independent and bipartisan 9/11-type commission. Today, thanks to the leadership of Chairman Bennie Thompson and Ranking Member John Katko, legislation to create such a commission is on the House floor.

It is important to note, Mr. Speaker, that this is happening 4½ months after the January 6 insurrection. Mr. Speaker, my colleagues know, but many were not here at the time, legislation establishing the 9/11 Commission, 9/11/2001, was not signed into law until the end of November 2002, over 14 months after the attacks.

So, people have been saying: How come we don't have a commission?

It takes time to build bipartisanship and come to agreement. Let us hope that the leadership that Mr. Thompson and Mr. Katko have demonstrated will be leadership that we will follow and that we will continue in the most bipartisan way in order to seek the truth.

Today, 4 months later, many questions regarding the circumstances still exist. This commission is designed to be impartial and experienced. The legislation requires that the commissioners be "prominent United States citizens with national recognition and significant depth of experience."

It also indicates that they should not be Members of Congress or elected in another capacity. Commissioners will be appointed from the highest echelons of government service; law enforcement; civil rights, civil liberties, and privacy; Armed Forces; intelligence; counterterrorism; cybersecurity; technology; and law.

The commission will be, again, bipartisan and bicameral, with commissioners appointed by the majority and minority leadership in the House and Senate. It will be actionable and effective, culminating in a final report on the facts and causes of January 6, along with recommendations to prevent further attacks on our democratic institutions.

I heard earlier Chairman THOMPSON acknowledge the support and endorsement of the previous chairs of the 9/11 Commission, Governor Kean and Chairman Lee Hamilton from Congress, the

co-chairs of the 9/11 Commission. They had written to us earlier about the need for such a bipartisan commission, but they also wanted not only to find out the truth so this doesn't happen again, but also to reinforce our commitment to democracy and take us on a path that is better and more unifying.

That is a responsibility we have, and that is a hope that I have emerging from this debate and this vote today, that we will be able to have a strong bipartisan vote that takes us down a path more unifying for our country. We have this opportunity.

Mr. Speaker, the press says to me: Why don't you just go do your own task force and your own select committee to investigate this? You have the votes, you have subpoena power, and you have this or that.

I said: I don't want to do that. We want this to be as it is shaped, bipartisan with shared responsibility and shared staff in a way that the public will have respect for the outcome.

To that end, 140 national security leaders have called for such a commission. This is what they have said: "The events of January 6 exposed severe vulnerabilities in the Nation's preparedness for preventing and responding to domestic terrorist attacks. The immediate security failings that permitted a lethal breach of the Capitol complex by armed extremists raise serious questions and demand immediate solutions. . . . A failure to deploy the full suite of tools available to fully understand January 6 and address its causes will leave the Capitol, and the Nation, vulnerable to future attacks."

This list is nonpartisan, 140 Democrats and Republicans. I don't even know what party some of them are.

I include their statement in the RECORD, Mr. Speaker.

LETTER FROM FORMER SENIOR NATIONAL SE-CURITY, MILITARY, AND ELECTED OFFICIALS CALLING ON CONGRESS TO CREATE A BIPAR-TISAN 1/6 COMMISSION

DEAR MEMBERS OF CONGRESS: We are former senior national security, military, and elected officials who have represented or served Democrats, Republicans, or administrations of both parties. We write to encourage this Congress to establish an independent and bipartisan national commission to investigate the January 6th assault of the U.S. Capitol Complex and its direct causes, and to make recommendations to prevent future assaults and strengthen the resilience of our democratic institutions.

We also write to you with great urgency in light of what we collectively see as an exigent and growing threat. The events of January 6th exposed severe vulnerabilities in the nation's preparedness for preventing and responding to domestic terrorist attacks. The immediate security failings that permitted a lethal breach of the Capitol Complex by armed extremists raise serious questions and demand immediate solutions.

But January 6th was also the result of complex national security threats. These include coordinated disinformation campaigns, nontransparent financing of extremist networks, potential foreign influences, and white supremacist violent extremism, which the Department of Homeland Security iden-

tified in an October 2020 report as among "the most persistent and lethal threat[s] in the Homeland." As FBI Director Christopher Wray testified to you recently, "January 6th was not an isolated event. The problem of domestic terrorism has been metastasizing across the country for a long time now and it's not going away anytime soon." Understanding how these forces culminated in an attack on the infrastructure of our democracy is critical to preventing future attacks.

In the wake of September 11th, the administration and Congress jointly acknowledged that the attack's causes were complex and that an independent and well-equipped national commission was an essential tool to aid the federal government. Congressional inquiries, law enforcement activities, and a national commission not only worked in parallel, but critically complemented each other's necessary work. An independent commission should not supplant the ongoing work by the legislative and executive branches, but it can uniquely support them by providing comprehensive and expert recommendations for Congress to act upon.

Commissions—properly empowered, resourced, and led-can establish a full picture of events and an analysis of their causes, from which nonpartisan ommendations can authoritatively flow With dedicated time, resources, and expert staffing, they can also exclusively focus on the matter at hand over an appropriate time horizon. Given the gravity of January 6th as a national security matter—the violent disruption to the transition of power and the continuing threat of future attacks—a national commission examining the lead up to the January 6th assault, and the attendant security lapses, is not only appropriate, but a critical component of the national response.

A failure to deploy the full suite of tools available to fully understand January 6th and address its causes will leave the Capitol, and the nation, vulnerable to future attacks. In bipartisan fashion, we have successfully marshaled these tools before, and we implore you to do so once again.

Sincerely,

(Note: All titles are former positions or military ranks held prior to retirement.)

Javed Ali, Senior Director for Counterterrorism, National Security Council.

Thad Allen, Admiral, U.S. Coast Guard; Commandant of the Coast Guard.

Wendy R. Anderson, Deputy Chief of Staff, U.S. Department of Defense.

Daniel Baer, U.S. Ambassador; Deputy Assistant Secretary of State.

Brian Baird, U.S. Representative, 1999–2011. Daniella Ballou-Aares, Senior Advisor to the Secretary of State.

Rand Beers, Acting Secretary, U.S. Department of Homeland Security; Deputy Homeland Security Advisor.

John Bellinger, Legal Adviser, U.S. Department of State; Legal Advisor, National Security Council.

Tatyana Bolton, Cyber Policy Lead—Senior Policy Analyst, U.S. Department of Homeland Security.

Charles Boustany, U.S. Representative, 2005–2017.

Steven Browning, U.S. Ambassador; Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State. Todd F. Buchwald, U.S. Ambassador, Office

of Global Criminal Justice, U.S. Department of State.

Sharon Burke, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Operational Energy.

Daniel Byman, Professional Staff Member, 9/11 Commission. Piper Campbell, U.S. Ambassador; Head

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Robert Litt, General Counsel, Office of the Director of National Intelligence.

George Little, Press Secretary, Pentagon; Spokesman, CIA.

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William Perry, Secretary of Defense.

Larry Pfeiffer, Chief of Staff, CIA; Senior Director, White House Situation Room.

Annie Pforzheimer, Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Afghanistan.

Randal Phillips, Senior Intelligence Service, CIA.

William Piekney, Senior Operations Manager, CIA.

Steven Pifer, Senior Foreign Service Officer: U.S. Ambassador.

Tony Pipa, Chief Strategy Officer, USAID. Marc Polymeropoulos, Senior Intelligence Service, Directorate of Operations, CIA.

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Nicholas Rostow, Legal Advisor to the National Security Council; Staff Director, U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.

Joel Rubin, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State.

Nilmini Rubin, Director, National Security Council.

David Scheffer, U.S. Ambassador.

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Tomicah Tillemann, Senior Advisor to the Secretary of State; Speechwriter to the Secretary of State.

Kurt Tong, U.S. Ambassador.

Olivia Troye, Homeland Security and Counterterrorism Advisor to Vice President Mike Pence.

Stanley A. Twardy, Jr., United States Attorney for the District of Connecticut, 1985–1991.

Alexander Vershbow, NATO Deputy Secretary General; Assistant Secretary of Defense; U.S. Ambassador.

Alexander Vindman, Lieutenant Colonel, U.S. Army; Director for European Affairs, National Security Council.

Edward Walker, U.S. Ambassador; Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs.

James Walsh, U.S. Representative, 1989–2009.

Zach Wamp, U.S. Representative, 1995–2011. Thomas Warrick, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Counterterrorism Policy, U.S. Department of Homeland Security.

William Wechsler, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defence for Special Operations and Combatting Terrorism.

Pamela White, U.S. Ambassador.

Christine Todd Whitman, Governor of New Jersey; Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency.

Jonathan Winer, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Law Enforcement; Special Envoy for Libya.

Tim Wirth, Under Secretary of State for Democracy and Global Affairs; U.S. Senator, 1987–1993; U.S. Representative, 1975–1987.

Lawrence Wilkerson, Colonel, U.S. Army; Chief of Staff, U.S. Secretary of State.

Douglas H. Wise, CIA Senior Intelligence Service; Deputy Director, Defense Intelligence Agency.

Tamara Cofman Wittes, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State.

Stephen N. Xenakis, Brigadier General, U.S. Armv.

Marie Yovanovitch, U.S. Ambassador.

Dov S. Zakheim, Under Secretary of Defense (Comptroller).

Peter D. Zimmerman, Chief Scientist, Senate Foreign Relations Committee; Chief Scientific Advisor, US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; Science Advisor for Arms Control, U.S. Department of State.

Ms. PELOSI. After the bipartisan agreement on this commission was reached, the respected bipartisan chairs of the 9/11 Commission, Thomas Kean and Lee Hamilton, endorsed it, as was mentioned by the chairman and as I referenced earlier.

I want to repeat it because I think it bears repetition:

We very strongly urge House Members to support H.R. 3233, the bipartisan National Commission to Investigate the January 6 Attack on the United States Capitol Complex bill that would create a 9/11-style commission to investigate the January 6 assault on the U.S. Capitol. That was a dark day in American history, one of the darkest.

As chairman and vice chairman of the 9/11 Commission, unity of purpose was key to the effectiveness of the group. We put country above party, without bias, the events before, during, and after the attack. We sought to understand our vulnerabilities in order to prevent future acts of terrorism.

The chair and vice chair went on to say:

Today, democracy faces a new threat. The January 6 attack on the U.S. Capitol was one of the darkest days in the history of our country. Americans deserve an objective and accurate account of what happened.

Mr. Hamilton and Governor Kean said:

As we did in the wake of 9/11, it is time to set aside partisan politics and come together as Americans in common pursuit of truth and justice.

As I said earlier, Mr. Speaker, the Capitol of the United States has always been a glorious beacon of democracy for the American people and for the world.

This legislation is about something larger even than the commission, vital as the commission is. This legislation is about our democracy, about ensuring that the Capitol dome remains a symbol of freedom and about preserving America's role as an emblem of resilence, determination, and hope to the world.

Indeed, creating this commission sends a resounding message to terrorists both at home and abroad: The commitment of the United States Congress to the Constitution and to the American people is unshakeable.

In establishing the truth of January 6, this commission will protect our temple of democracy and our democracy itself. It will ensure that such an attack shall never happen again.

Can we just not wait, Mr. Speaker, for a time very soon when children come here to learn, where the press can cover in a more open way, and where the American people can come into the people's House?

That is what this Chamber has been called, the people's House. They come

to witness the debate that affects their lives. And whatever our disagreement about policy, they are assured that we are unified in our commitment in honoring our Constitution and respecting the institution in which we serve.

Mr. Speaker, I urge a strong bipartisan vote for H.R. 3233 to establish the national commission to investigate the January 6 attack on the United States Capitol complex. I do so with the greatest appreciation and respect to Chairman Bennie Thompson and to Ranking Member Katko, and I hope, again, that the spirit of bipartisanship that they engendered in bringing this legislation to the floor will only grow as we go forward with the commission and with its recommendations.

Mr. KATKO. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the Speaker for her comments.

I want to reiterate for everyone to understand: The way that Mr. Thompson and I crafted this bill, we crafted it in such a manner to make sure it would be depoliticized entirely. There is an equal number of members on both sides appointed by both sides. They have equal subpoena power. They can't subpoena one person without the other person on the other side of the aisle agreeing. They have to hire staff together, all those things.

I want to make sure people understand that we did this for a reason because that is exactly what made the 9/11 Commission successful and made it effective.

As someone who was in Federal law enforcement for 20 years before I took this job, I can tell you, Mr. Speaker, that our country is infinitely safer because of what the 9/11 Commission did. We are much stronger against terrorism, and we share information in much better ways than we ever did—for example, the Joint Terrorism Task Forces, which are all over this country.

I ask my colleagues to consider the fact that this commission is built to work. It will be depoliticized, and it will get the results we need because the Capitol itself and the Capitol Police officers will be better off for it.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Georgia (Mrs. Greene).

Mrs. GREENE of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to this bill and to the January 6 commission. I do so as a Member of Congress because I believe this institution's duty is to serve the people of this country and not itself.

In this past year, we have witnessed violent riots in American cities all over this country. We have witnessed tremendous damage. Minneapolis city officials estimate 700 buildings were damaged, burned, or destroyed, including 360 local businesses. There has not been a commission launched to study the reasons why that happened.

There has not been an investigation to stop the BLM and antifa riots that have hurt innocent people and attacked government buildings and Fed-

eral courthouses, taken over police precincts, created autonomous zones in the city of Portland, and done so much damage to people all over the country.

Studies show 570 protests in 220 different U.S. locations turned violent over the summer. The \$1 billion-plus riot damage is estimated to be the most expensive in insurance history. It resulted in up to \$2 billion of damages in 20 cities across the U.S., mostly concentrated in L.A., Detroit, Miami, D.C., and New York.

## □ 1700

As a person who was a victim of the January 6 Capitol attack, I can tell you that I am against the violence that happened that day, but I do not believe a January 6 commission will achieve any resolution because we have already had our Department of Justice arrest 445 people, with 100 more to be arrested soon.

There are also reports of people being held for 23 hours in solitary confinement. That should not be happening. These people haven't even had a court date yet.

What is going to happen with the January 6 commission is the media is going to use this to smear Trump supporters and President Trump for the next few years and cover up the real damage that is happening to the people of this country, which is tearing down our economy, ripping our borders wide open, and hurting this country.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER), the majority leader of the Democratic Party.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding, and I thank the chairman for his work.

I have been here a long time. This is my 40th year in the Congress of the United States. I came at the same time Ronald Reagan was elected President of the United States. It was clearly a time of difference in the House and in the country between Republicans and Democrats, but it was also a time when, frankly, the JOHN KATKOS of the Congress were in the majority in the Republican Party. And by that I mean, Mr. Speaker, people who wanted to work together to get results that, while not perfect for either side, were good for the country.

So while I thank Mr. Thompson for the hard work he has done, I thank Mr. Katko as well for doing what Americans expect us to do, to come together, looking at a challenge to our country and to our people, coming to a decision to resolve those challenges and those problems.

That is what Mr. THOMPSON and Mr. KATKO have done. Indeed, I think this is, in some ways, the best of days and, in some ways, the worst of days because we have seen today two Republican leaders turn what ought to be a nonpolitical issue, an issue with reference to a unique event, not just a demonstration that has occurred.

I grew up in the 1960s. Whether it was civil rights or Vietnam, there were a lot of demonstrations. But the Capitol of the United States was not attacked. It was not invaded. It was not breached.

The work of the Congress of the United States was not stopped because people were trying to get through the door, with some Members trying to stop them who then said: These are just tourists.

It is sad because what the minority leader in the Senate and the minority leader in the House said is exactly what Mr. KATKO pointed out. They wanted a commission that was even, as the 9/11 Commission was even, so that both sides would have an equal voice.

What was the resolution that Mr. Thompson and Mr. Katko attained? Equal division, equal voice. Not only equal voice in terms of numbers but, for instance, one of the things that was controversial was about subpoenas. Mr. Thompson and Mr. Katko arrived at a resolution that said both sides have to agree, or alternatively, the committee can agree. In light of the fact that the committee is evenly divided, it would obviously have to be a bipartisan request for subpoenas.

Now, what we didn't agree on was the distraction and the dissembling. Let's look at this corner; don't look here. Let's look at this corner; don't look here. Let's look at that corner; don't look there. Don't look at just the invasion, the insurrection that occurred on January 6; look at everything else because maybe we can confuse the issue enough that we will lose sight of the insurrection on January 6. We ought not to do that.

I have been here a long time, but I also know the history of the House, and I do not know of any other instance that is analogous to January 6, not

In 1812, of course, there was a similar invasion, but it was from a foreign enemy. It was not the enemy within. I said that on the floor that morning as we finished the business of the House, notwithstanding the insurrection.

Mr. Speaker, it is vital that Congress establish a bipartisan, independent commission to investigate January 6, not some other date. That does not absolve any wrongdoing anywhere at any time. But it says that this unique insurrection is a danger to our democracy, not to Republicans or Democrats, to our democracy, to our Congress, to the people's House and the United States Senate, which was occupied. At least this House was not occupied.

But Members were terrified, work was stopped, and democracy, for a short period of time, was overtaken by armed, violent insurrectionists.

Certainly, each one of us ought to be very concerned about getting to the bottom of why that happened. How did it happen? How can we stop it from happening again? What are the resources that we need, and, yes, who was responsible? Some, perhaps, are going

to vote against this because that is what they fear.

The 9/11 Commission, as Mr. Katko pointed out, made America safer. It made this institution safer. It made our law enforcement more acutely aware of the failures that led to 9/11. I hope this commission does the same. I have talked to numerous Republicans who tell me they think it was right that we focused on January 6. Don't be distracted. Don't cover up or make it more lacking in clarity by trying to deal with every problem that we may have. Focus on January 6.

Together, Mr. KATKO and Mr. THOMP-SON negotiated a bipartisan agreement to move forward with such a commission based on input from Democrats and Republicans. There are going to be a significant number of Republicans who vote for this bill.

Unfortunately, the truth has been a victim over the last couple of weeks. It was okay for Liz Cheney to tell the truth once, but when the former President of the United States kept telling a lie, and she said that is a lie each time that he said it, well, that was not appropriate, so she was removed. But the truth was removed with her. See no evil, hear no evil.

The commission, as a result of Ranking Member KATKO's participation in these discussions, will be equally composed, as I said. It will have subpoena power that will be shared by both sides. I was pleased that we reached a bipartisan agreement and sad for this institution, for this country, for the American people who must think: Well, can't you agree on anything?

The minority leader got what he asked for, yet he won't take yes for an answer. Trump does not want this commission. That can be my only explanation.

Throughout my career, both in the State senate for 12 years, as president of the Senate, and here in this body for 40, I think I am known on the other side of the aisle as somebody you can work with. I hope that is the case because I think that is the way Americans want us to work.

President Trump opposes this commission. I am not sure why. It is deeply disappointing that there is a division among Republicans about whether to support the ranking member who worked hard to get to this place and got what the minority leader asked for, except for the distraction, except for the dissembling. He didn't get that. But he got everything else.

Mr. Speaker, I hope my Republican colleagues will think not about their politics, not about the former President, not about themselves. I hope they will think of the country, of this Congress, of this House. As they do so, I hope they say to themselves: We will vote for this legislation.

What if George Bush had said we shouldn't have a 9/11 Commission, perhaps out of fear that somehow the administration would have been perceived as being responsible for 9/11?

They weren't. Wouldn't all of us have said: What are you talking about that we are not going to have a commission to see how we can protect the Capitol and why this Capitol was stopped from doing the work of our democracy?

This legislation is going to pass. It is going to pass on a bipartisan basis, and I want to thank Mr. KATKO for having the courage and the integrity to stand up, fighting for what the minority leader asked for.

I say to Mr. THOMPSON that that is the funny thing about this. I hope Senators will think long and hard about rejecting this bipartisan compromise to move forward, to protect our democracy, and to lift it up as the beacon that it has been and needs to be not only for our own citizens but for all the world.

How sad that day was as the world watched, as TVs showed them America's citadel of democracy and of freedom invaded by its own citizens.

Vote "yes." It is the right thing to do.

#### $\Box$ 1715

Mr. KATKO. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. BISHOP).

Mr. BISHOP of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I had not intended to speak, but the careful mask of bipartisanship seems to have faltered here at the last, with the majority leader's attacks on the minority leader, who has not spoken, and the minority leader in the Senate for comments he has made in public but not in debate.

So what was an image of bipartisan cooperation has now become one more partisan attack. It caused me to believe that it was important to stand up and say this: How can you have a bipartisan commission with an all-Democrat staff? How do you do that?

And why is it that there is no willingness to look into all of the riots and the arson and the violence and the burning? If we are concerned about the danger that police officers were in on January 6—and certainly they were—then why don't we have that concern for the dangers, the violence, the injuries, the deaths that have been faced by police officers across this country?

Why is one form of political violence equivalent to 9/11 when a blind eye has been turned by this Congress, or at least by the majority in this Congress, to that same phenomenon across this country for a year? Where is the inquiry into that?

When the images are raised, the lurid images of insurrection—let me just say this. If it was an insurrection, it was the worst example of an insurrection in the history of mankind. It was a riot, it was a mob, it was significant, and it was troublesome.

But this is not bipartisanship, and I fear that the gentleman from New York may find that he has been played.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I am not going to argue with the previous speaker. I just say: Read the bill. And if you read the bill, you will understand it is a bipartisan bill

It is not a partisan bill; it is absolutely bipartisan. The staff will be picked just like the staff was picked for the 9/11 Commission. It is just like the earlier bill the ranking member talked about, the Rodney Davis bill.

We looked, Mr. Speaker, at this issue because the world saw what happened on January 6, and it is clear that we put together a bipartisan bill for the good of the country. It is in that spirit that we are here today.

Mr. Speaker, how much time is remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Mississippi has 6 minutes remaining. The gentleman from New York has 15 minutes remaining.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. CAROLYN B. MALONEY), the chair of the Committee on Oversight and Reform.

Mrs. CAROLYN B. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman and ranking member for their extraordinary leadership, for doing the right thing, and for working to make this country safer and stronger.

Like my friend on the other side of aisle from North Carolina, I didn't intend to speak either.

As a New Yorker, I was closely involved in supporting the work of the 9/11 Commission. It, too, like January 6, was one of the darkest days in the history of our country, and we needed answers on how such a horrible thing could happen. Almost 3,000 people were murdered just because they went to work that day. Many things needed to be answered.

This body came together. We were united; we were determined; we passed the Commission. We had two outstanding leaders, Governor Kean and Lee Hamilton. They did everything together. They issued a report that sold more copies than Harry Potter. I nominated it for a National Book Award. It laid out what happened so clearly from their joint investigations. More importantly, it told us what to do about it. They had a series of recommendations to make this country safer.

This body worked together and enacted most of them, and it did make this country safer. In fact, I get periodic reports from the law enforcement in my city on attempts to hurt us and how the reforms and the programs we put in place are helping us, making us stronger and protecting us better.

We need this January 6 commission, for the sake of America. Let's stop fighting long enough to work together to help our country understand what happened.

Why did it take 4 hours for the National Guard to respond? In New York, they would have been there in 10 minutes. Why didn't they respond to all of the news reports about what was hap-

pening? We need answers. Let's come together and work together and get them.

A January 6 commission, I urge for the sake of the country, everyone should vote for it.

Mr. KATKO. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GOHMERT).

Mr. GOHMERT. Mr. Speaker, look, things have changed a lot since the 9/11 Commission. Back then, we did not have a problem on either side of the aisle condemning anti-Semitic remarks. Now one side has a problem doing that.

Back then, we had never, in the history of Congress, had one party commit what arguably is felony, up to 20 years in prison, by preventing an ongoing session of Congress, the exact charge, 18 USC 1512, that is being alleged against people that came in. As a judge, I would have no problem sentencing anybody that broke into the Capitol, anybody that committed a crime here.

But let's be real. The partisanship has been dramatic. That is why it is different now than the 9/11 Commission. Let's get back to being bipartisan and not use every tool as a partisan stick to beat Republicans with.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from the Virgin Islands (Ms. PLASKETT).

Ms. PLASKETT. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this bill, the National Commission to Investigate the January 6 Attack on the U.S. Capitol.

I want to thank Chairman Thompson and Ranking Member KATKO for bringing this bill to the floor.

On January 6, we witnessed one of the darkest moments in our Nation's history when a violent mob attacked the U.S. Capitol. These individuals desecrated the Halls of Congress, attacked law enforcement, and attempted to stop the democratic process. The clearest way for us to uphold our oath to defend the Constitution and protect this institution, our democracy, from those who directly attempted to thwart its operations, is through an independent, evenly-divided, bipartisan commission. We need to understand not just what were the breakdowns in security and the failures of our intelligence, but why. What are those issues which caused fellow Americans to believe they needed to overthrow their government?

Those who believe the former President had no culpability should not be afraid of a commission that derives its power from both sides equally.

I ask all of my colleagues to join me in supporting this bill.

Mr. KATKO. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. Roy).

Mr. ROY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York for his work on this effort. I appreciate my colleagues on the other side of the aisle and the intent of what we are trying to accomplish.

Obviously, we are all very concerned and should be concerned about what occurred on January 6, all of us who were here in the Chamber, all of us who saw what unfolded.

My concern, and the reason that I am opposing this legislation, is that I believe we have got a significant amount of power with our existing structures in place, the Committee on Oversight and Reform, the Committee on the Judiciary, and otherwise. While the investigation is going on at the Department of Justice, we ought to be looking at that and using those powers to do what we can to seek the truth wherever it may lead.

I have questions right now for the Department of Justice. We have got 450 Americans who have been arrested. I don't know for how long, I don't know how many of them are in jail, or for what period of time. We are trying to look into that. I have sent letters to the Department of Justice to get those answers.

I wish the gentlewoman who spoke, the chair of the Committee on Oversight and Reform, would afford us the ability to call people forward from the Department of Justice. Let's inquire as to what is going on. Let's inquire about the investigations. Let's inquire about the facts that have been found. Let's use the powers that we have and the powers of this body and the committees we have to seek the information and the truth, wherever it may lead.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentlewoman from Illinois (Ms. SCHA-KOWSKY).

Ms. SCHAKOWSKY. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank Chairman Thompson for his leadership.

While the events of January 6 were devastating and will stain our country's history forever, I have no doubt that democracy will prevail.

This Nation has fought back against hatred, authoritarianism, and fascism since the very founding.

Yes, I stand proudly today to ask for a January 6 commission so that we can develop a full public record that will let us know how we can avoid this in the future

We should all vote "yes."

Mr. KATKO. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I just want to take a few moments to address some of the arguments that have been made here today, and some of the arguments that have been made in opposition to this bill.

One of them is talking about the scope of the commission being too narrow. I want to note that the commission is granted sufficient scope and flexibility to investigate targeted violence and domestic terrorism relevant to the January 6 attack. It will be up to the commission to decide how far they want to go with that perimeter.

Do I feel that the attack on the Capitol on April 2 that killed a Capitol Police Officer is relevant? I do. I hope the commission does, too.

Do I feel that the June 17 attack on Republican Members of Congress is relevant to the January 6 attack? I do. I hope the commission does. They have the flexibility to do so, if they want.

If there are other issues outside of this scope, we can look into them. We can have separate legislation. I encourage my colleagues, who are concerned about that, to do that.

Another charge I heard was that the commission could be controlled by partisan staff hired unilaterally by the commission chair. That is simply not true.

Here is what the bill does. It requires consultation between the chair, appointed by the Democrats, and the vice chair, appointed by the Republicans, for any hiring of staff. Further, it requires that it be in accordance with the rules agreed upon by the commission. The commission creates the rules as a team. They then hire as a team.

Lastly, there has been some concerns or arguments made about the criminal investigations. Make no mistake about it. This commission has nothing to do with the criminal investigations. This commission, by law, cannot interfere with criminal investigations. Criminal investigations alone won't get us what we need, like the 9/11 Commission concluded. It won't get us the recommendations, the insight, the expertise from the people on the commission who can come in, look at the Capitol security matrix, and say this is what needs fixing. A prosecutor can't tell you that. The commission can. That is what we want to do.

Second, the bill specifically requires the commission to respect ongoing investigations and build upon the investigations, learn from them, and avoid unnecessary duplication.

This language, in that respect, goes further than the 9/11 Commission in H.R. 275 in granting deference to other ongoing investigations.

So I just want to make sure people are clear about that going forward.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

## □ 1730

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. RYAN).

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from New York and the other Republicans who are supporting this for their bipartisanship.

To the other 90 percent of our friends on the other side of the aisle, holy cow. Incoherence. No idea what you are talking about.

Benghazi, you guys chased the former Secretary of State all over the country, spent millions of dollars. We have people scaling the Capitol, hitting the Capitol Police with lead pipes across the head, and we can't get bipartisanship.

What else has to happen in this country?

This is a slap in the face to every rank-and-file cop in the United States.

If we are going to take on China, if we are going to rebuild the country, if we are going to reverse climate change, we need two political parties in this country that are both living in reality, and you ain't one of them.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Members are reminded to direct their remarks to the Chair.

Mr. KATKO. Mr. Speaker, I ask that we all take a deep breath right now. Everybody breathe for a minute and everybody stop the theatrics, and everybody stop the arguments that are not relevant to this issue.

This is a very solemn moment. We are here to talk about something that is very important to the entire of our Government and the entire of our country. I ask that we think about the officers and their families and conduct ourselves accordingly.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentlewoman from New Jersey (Mrs. Watson Coleman).

Mrs. WATSON COLEMAN. Mr. Speaker, I just want to say that January 6 was a frightening experience. It was an assault upon the fundamentals of this Government. It was an assault upon the place I thought I was going to be the safest I could possibly be, and we politicize this.

This is an opportunity to bring this bipartisan commission into existence so that we can get out of the politics of it and look at the facts that happened, the evidence that happened, and the recommendations that will ensue from that effort.

I wholeheartedly support this effort. I am grateful for the bipartisanship of it, and I pray that all of our colleagues will support this.

Mr. KATKO. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire as to how much time remains?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from New York has 9½ minutes remaining. The gentleman from Mississippi has 1½ minutes remaining.

Mr. KATKO. Mr. Speaker, I am prepared to close and I yield myself the balance of my time.

Mr. Speaker, this legislation is not about partisan politics. It is about finding the truth and addressing the vulnerabilities of our security apparatus so that we can emerge stronger and better prepared.

The January 6 attack was a completely preventable failure of intelligence, information sharing, decision-making, and preparedness. The Capitol Police and D.C. police suffered greatly and continue to suffer as a result.

The institutions of our democracy are and will continue to be a target for extremists set on using violence to further their ideology. We, in Congress, owe it to this Nation, to our constituents, and to the dedicated men and women who risk their lives every single day to protect those institutions—and I honor them—to see that we learn from those attacks, that we get an-

swers to the hard questions, and that we do not repeat the mistakes of the past.

Capitol Police Officers Brian Sicknick and Howard Liebengood, as well as D.C. Police Officer Jeffrey Smith, all lost their lives in the wake of the January 6 attack. Over 140 more law enforcement officers—140—were injured as a result of that attack.

Less than 4 months later, on April 2, Capitol Police Officer William "Billy" Evans was killed and another officer was injured when yet another extremist attacked the Capitol.

And, of course, we can't forget the 2017 terrorist attack against Republican Members of Congress during practice for the Congressional Baseball Game. Were it not for the officers involved, there would be scores of dead Congressmen. That is the plain truth. I acknowledge the heroic efforts of David Bailey and Crystal Griner.

We owe it to all of these officers and their families to ensure that nothing like this ever happens again. This legislation is modeled directly on the legislation that created the 9/11 Commission. I sincerely believe that this commission, with strong support from this body, will embark on an objective, nonpartisan search for answers and solutions, just as the 9/11 Commission did.

Again, I want to thank my friend, Chairman THOMPSON, for his partnership.

I urge everyone in the body, on both sides—not just my side and not just the other side, all of us—to set aside politics just this once—just this once. I beg Members to pass this bill.

I was a prosecutor for 20 years prior to coming here to Congress, and many times we would meet at 4:30 in the morning or 5:00 in the morning, and they would get ready to go out and do the raids and arrest very, very dangerous people. I was always the last person to see them before they went out to get these awful, dangerous people off the street: drug dealers, murderers, violent people. They did their job every day, and I was sending them into harm's way. It always made my heart sink.

Imagine being a family member of these officers who do this. So let's take a deep breath and think about what is really important here. These people, every single day, are willing to lay down their lives for us.

They deserve better, and we are going to deliver this. We are going to deliver it on behalf of Capitol Police Officer Brian Sicknick. We are going to deliver it on behalf of Capitol Police Officer Howard Liebengood. We are going to deliver it on behalf of Capitol Police Officer William "Billy" Evans. We are going to deliver it on behalf of D.C. Police Officer Jeffrey Smith. We are going to deliver it on behalf of D.C. Police Officer Michael Fanone and so many others who struggle with the events of that day. We do so on behalf of the people who risked their lives for us and continue to, like Capitol Police

Officer David Bailey and Capitol Police Officer Crystal Griner.

I want these officers and their families to know that we are doing it not for us and not for politics. We are doing it for them. We are doing it for them.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support this legislation, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

At the outset, let me salute Mr. KATKO for his agreeing to work in a bipartisan manner so that we can get this bill to the floor and adopted today.

Mr. Speaker, we are here today at a unique moment in American history. Trust in our government's ability to share information and coordinate at all levels to keep our democracy secure was severely shaken by the January 6 attack.

We need a bipartisan commission with experts who put country ahead of party to come together, just as the commission did, to lay out the facts and proposed solutions to make us more secure.

When the chairman of the 9/11 Commission issued their final report, they concluded a message to the public. It asked that each of us remember how we felt on that day of the attack. It asked that we recall the grief and sorrow

This moment is no less historic, no less important, no less momentous, and it requires the same common action, both as Congress and as a country.

I, too, salute the brave men and women of the Capitol Police who put their lives on the line on January 6 protecting this citadel of democracy, and it is in their spirit that I ask that you vote in support of this legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the chairman and ranking member of the House Homeland Security Committee have negotiated in good faith over several weeks a bipartisan bill—H.R. 3233—to establish a tenmember national commission to investigate the January 6th attack on the Capitol.

I'm voting yes.

If enacted into law both the Republican and Democrat leaders would each select five commissioners who would be tasked with investigating the "facts and causes" of the attack.

The Commission may issue subpoenas, but subpoenas may only be issued by agreement between the Chair and Vice Chairperson of the Commission—one Democrat and one Republican—or by the vote of a majority of the members of the Commission.

Any interim report, or the final report—which must be submitted to the President and Congress no later than December 31, 2021—must be agreed to by a majority of Commission members.

According to the text of H.R. 3233, the final report should include "findings, conclusions, and recommendations, which may include changes in law, policy, procedures, rules, or regulations, to improve the detection, prevention, preparedness for, and response to targeted violence and domestic terrorism and im-

prove the security posture of the United States Capitol Complex and ensure the security of Members of Congress and staff."

The attack on January 6 resulted in a tragic loss of life and physical injury. 140 Capitol and D.C. police officers were injured on January 6th, including 15 who were hospitalized. Three police officers later died—including a brave Capitol police officer from New Jersey, Brian Sicknick, who died of a stroke on January 7th and two other officers died by suicide. Four rioters died—one was shot by police.

It is my hope that the Commission will establish the truth and provide a way forward to ensure that such an attack never happens again.

Ms. SLOTKIN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to express my strong support for H.R. 3233, which would create an independent, bipartisan "National Commission to Investigate the January 6 Attack on the United States Capitol Complex."

The attack on the Capitol was one of the darkest days in our Nation's history—an assault on the foundation of our democratic system, and an attempt to stop Congress's work through violence. I am proud that we didn't let the attempt succeed: thanks to the heroism and incredible sacrifices of the U.S. Capitol Police that day to defend the heart of our democracy, both houses of Congress returned to the Capitol and worked through the night to certify and uphold the will of the American people.

Now, it is our duty to ensure that such an attack on our democracy is never able to happen again. That work begins with ensuring that we have an honest, independent investigation of what happened that day and how it was possible—a task perfectly suited for the commission the House has voted to create today, with bipartisan support. This bill creates a 1/6 Commission that follows the model set by the 9/11 Commission, whose landmark investigation wasn't just for Washington insiders or policy wonks, but the American people.

The 9/11 Commission's final report was written in easily accessible prose, and published as a bestselling paperback which was available in bookstores and newsstands across the country. It helped ordinary Americans understand how such an appalling attack had been possible, who needed to be held accountable, and what we as a nation had to do to ensure it would never happen again.

And two decades later, its impact hasn't faded: even today, a whole generation of Americans who were just children on 9/11, or were even born after the attacks, have looked to the Commission's work to help them make sense of that dark chapter in our history.

The Commission also delivered a vital wake-up call to our national security establishment. As one of the first dozen staff members at the Office of the Director of National Intelligence, which grew out of the 9/11 Commission's recommendations, I saw firsthand how the Commission's independent investigation pushed our government to meet the serious challenges we faced. I keep my original, dogeared copy of the 9/11 Commission report in my congressional office as a constant reminder, because it drove systemic change where systemic failures had occurred.

The 1/6 Commission that the House has approved today is built on the same principles that enabled the success of the 9/11 Commission: It has a bipartisan structure—five Repub-

licans, five Democrats—and bipartisan support in Congress.

It will operate by consensus and will have the subpoena power, budget and staff needed to conduct a proper investigation.

And it has a mandate to look at the full scope of facts and causes that led to or influenced this specific, unprecedented attack on our democracy. As those of us from Michigan are well aware, this attack didn't happen in isolation. It was the result of months, if not years, of escalating rhetoric and activity—which is why it's vital that this commission has a strong, focused mandate.

But even beyond its structure, what characterized the 9/11 Commission's work was a commitment among its members to work together in good faith, to uncover the truth behind what led to the attack on our Nation, no matter how disturbing or painful.

As Governor Tom Kean and Congressman Lee Hamilton, the bipartisan leaders of the 9/11 Commission, said in a statement today, it was their commitment to "put country over party, without bias" that led to the "unity of purpose [that] was key to [its] effectiveness."

The Commission's findings and work were seen as objective and legitimate because of that combination of structure and patriotic, good faith commitment—the model only works if we have both.

That's why it's so important that this is, from its very design, a bipartisan initiative. To that end, I want to take a moment to thank Chairman THOMPSON and Ranking Member KATKO for their leadership and their commitment to finding this consensus.

As a member of the Committee on Homeland Security, and as Chair of the Subcommittee on Intelligence and Counterterrorism, I have been honored to work alongside them both over the past few years. Their collaboration sets an example that we would all do well to follow.

We cannot allow this vital inquiry to turn into a political football—it's simply too important to our country. That's why I opposed an early proposal for this bill that skewed the number of commissioners towards Democratic appointees.

I'm committed to ensuring that this commission has the credibility it needs to take on this investigation, and I am pleased that the bill we passed today gives it the structural integrity it needs. That's why I urge my Republican colleagues in the Senate to take the time, and do what I did last week: actually sit down and read this bill.

Print out a copy of it, as well a copy of the bill from 2002 which created the 9/11 Commission. Put them side-by-side, take out a pen and mark up the similarities.

You'll see that in so many cases, this bill uses the exact same language on scope, participation and authorities as the 9/11 Commission authorization, which was approved by a Republican-led House, and signed into law by a Republican president.

Because, let's be clear: if you oppose this bill and the commission it creates, you would have opposed the 9/11 Commission twenty years ago. The American people deserve the truth, and we owe it to them as their elected representatives to ensure they hear it in its entirety from an independent and objective body they can trust. And if you oppose this bipartisan legislation, you are choosing political expediency over ensuring that our citizens hear the truth they deserve.

The 9/11 attacks took place during my first week of graduate school, and I joined the CIA because I wanted to help make sure nothing like it ever happened again—a motivation that was informed by a clear understanding of what had happened and of our own failures, made possible by the 9/11 Commission.

Today, I will cast my vote in support of taking the next step that will help us understand this attack on our Nation—no matter how disturbing or painful that truth may be.

Its work will be vital to meeting the new security challenges we face, and to beginning to heal the divisions across our country. I urge my colleagues in the Senate to join the House in passing this bill and starting an honest conversation with the American people.

Ms. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, today I rise in support of H.R. 3233, the National Commission to Investigate the January 6 Attack on the United States Capitol Complex Act.

Just four months ago, the nation stood still as the Capitol of the United States—the very beacon of our democracy—was attacked by a violent and armed mob of insurrectionists. Seeking to interrupt, even prevent, the proceedings to certify the result of the 2020 General Election, these insurrectionists descended upon our capital city inspired by the rhetoric of former President Donald Trump and leaders in the Republican party. What then transpired on January 6 will be recorded as one of the darkest days in the history of our nation and of democracies everywhere.

The halls of the Capitol remain littered with remnants of the attack. Shattered glass panes, broken furniture, and missing statues now define the building—none of which compare to the trauma and fear still lingering in the minds of Members, aides, press, and support staff alike. Three officers of the U.S. Capitol Police Force lost their lives, and hundreds more were injured during the hours-long siege.

That is why the establishment of this bipartisan commission is necessary, Mr. Speaker. Composed of both Republicans and Democrats, it would explore the events that led to the attack, the security failures at the Capitol complex, and the corrective measures necessary to prevent it from ever happening again. Members of the commission would be experts in the fields of law, security, and intelligence. They would be thorough in their investigation, wide in their scope, and united in their mission to uncover the truth.

Those who oppose the commission as part of an effort to write off what happened, or to simply "move on," clearly don't understand what is at stake. The same hatred that drove the insurrectionists that day is still alive and well—even present here in this body. If we fail to address, review, and reflect on what happened on January 6th, I fear that this hatred will go unpunished, and therefore remain prevalent in our society and in the Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the swift passage of the legislation and hope for its immediate consideration in the Senate.

Ms. BONAMICI. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 3233, the National Commission to Investigate the January 6 Attack on the United States Capitol Complex Act.

On January 6, 2021, our democratic republic came under direct attack in an attempt to block the certification of Joseph R. Biden as the duly elected President of the United States of America. Donald Trump and others sought

to subvert the will of voters when they incited violent rioters to invade the U.S. Capitol with the hope of overturning a legitimate election. Criminals and domestic terrorists, many espousing racist and hateful ideologies, desecrated the sacred center of the people's government. This was terrifying and infuriating for those whose lives were in danger and for the millions of Americans who watched in horror. I am grateful for the actions of the U.S. Capitol Police and DC Metropolitan Police officers who put their lives on the line to protect this institution and the people who work here. I also mourn for the lives that were lost.

Many questions remain about the actions of those involved and the security response that day, as well as in the days prior to and following the violent attack on the Capitol. The country deserves answers. This independent, bipartisan commission will investigate and report the facts surrounding the events of January 6. It will provide a full and fair accounting of the mistakes made and lessons learned. And, importantly, the commission will recommend steps that Congress and the federal government can take to prevent future violence and strengthen our democratic institutions.

Our Nation is resilient, and the Constitution will endure because of the commitment of those who have sworn to support and defend it. In keeping with my oath, I look forward to acting on the findings of the National Commission so the country emerges stronger from this dark chapter of its history.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. All time for debate has expired.

Pursuant to House Resolution 409, the previous question is ordered on the bill

The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. KATKO. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to section 3(s) of House Resolution 8, the yeas and navs are ordered.

Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, further proceedings on this question are postponed.

# RAISING A QUESTION OF THE PRIVILEGES OF THE HOUSE

Mr. McCarthy. Mr. Speaker, I rise to raise a question of the privileges of the House and send to the desk a resolution (H. Res. 414) directing the Attending Physician to take timely action to provide updated mask wearing guidance applicable to the Hall of the House of Representatives and committee meeting spaces for Members and staff who are vaccinated against Covid-19, consistent with the public guidance released by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention on May 13, 2021.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. RES. 414

Whereas the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention issued a guidance on May 13, 2021 stating that Americans who are fully vaccinated against Covid-19 no longer need to wear masks indoors or outdoors in almost all scenarios:

Whereas the three widely available vaccines against Covid-19 are highly effective;

Whereas Dr. Anthony Fauci stated on May 16 that, "It is very unlikely that a vaccinated person, even if there's a breakthrough infection, would transmit it to someone else.";

Whereas those who are fully vaccinated are shown not to carry the viral load necessary to spread the virus, and therefore do not pose a significant risk;

Whereas those who have not yet received the vaccine pose no real threat to those who have been vaccinated;

Whereas there may be Members of the House of Representatives whose personal physician, for various reasons, may recommend that they do not receive the vaccine;

Whereas those who want to continue wearing a mask or taking other forms of precaution may do so;

Whereas Members of the House of Representatives have a responsibility to send a message to the American people that we can trust the safety and efficacy of the available Covid-19 vaccines;

Whereas the continued House mask mandate sends the erroneous message that the efficacy of the vaccines cannot be trusted;

Whereas the continued House mask mandate is not based on the best available science, is contrary to the latest CDC guidance, and is not in line with the protocols in place in the United States Senate and at the White House; and

Whereas the continued House mask mandate hinders the ability of the House to properly and effectively conduct the people's business: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Attending Physician, in consultation with the Director for the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, should take timely action to provide updated mask wearing guidance applicable to the Hall of the House of Representatives and committee meeting spaces for Members and staff who are vaccinated against Covid-19, consistent with the public guidance released by the CDC on May 13, 2021.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The resolution qualifies.

## MOTION TO TABLE

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I have a motion at the desk.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

 $\operatorname{Mr.}$  Hoyer moves to lay the resolution on the table.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion to table.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

 $\mbox{Mr. McCARTHY}.$  Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to section 3(s) of House Resolution 8, the yeas and nays are ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 218, nays 210, not voting 2, as follows: